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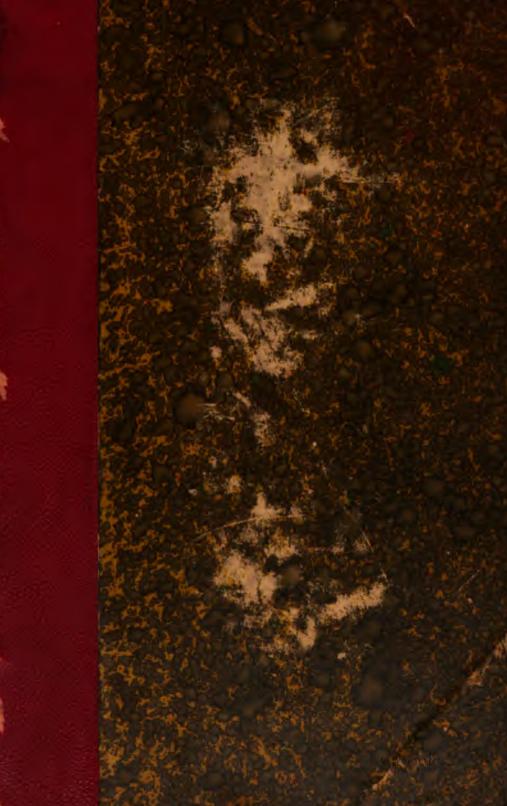
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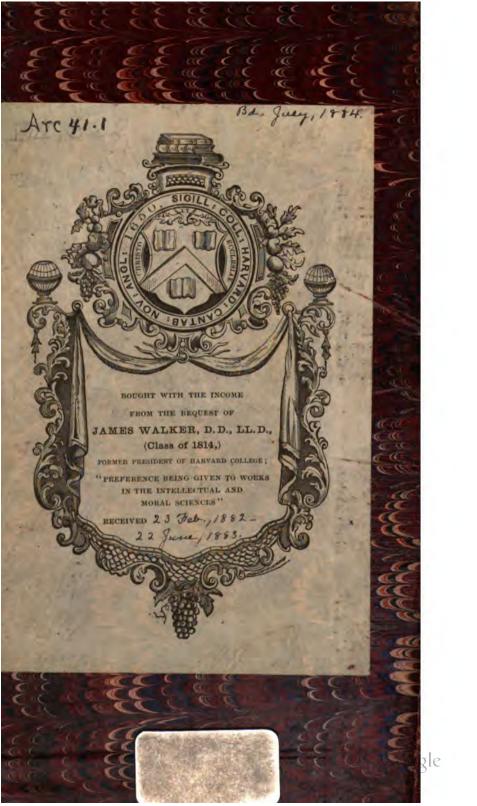
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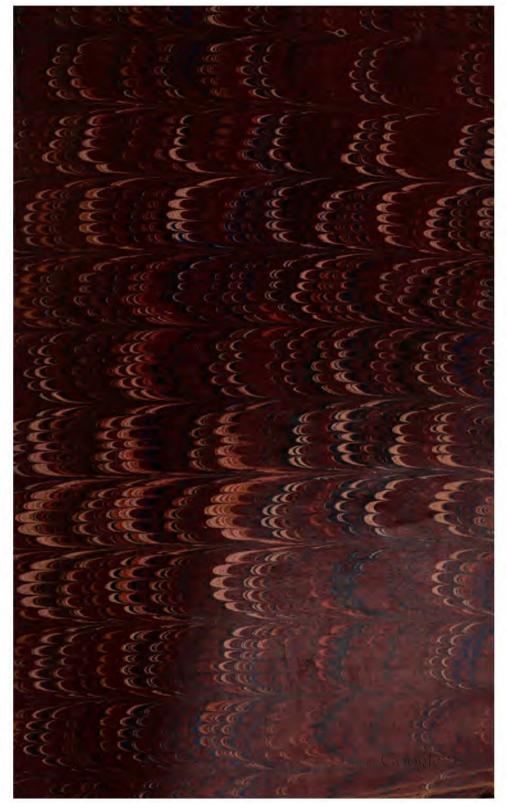
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30,2

## **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

NOVEMBER, 1881,

то

JUNE, 1882.

THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY

II, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1882.

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PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON.

# CONTENTS.

Samuel Birch, D.C.L. ( <i>President</i> ). Remarks on the recent discoveries at the Deir-el-Bahari	
discoveries at the Den-er-Danair	5—0
Rev. H. G. Tomkins. The Campaign of Rameses II in	
his fifth year against Kadesh on the Orontes	0—7
Remarks by Rev. William Wright, B.A	8—9
Professor A. H. Sayce. The newly discovered Cuneiform	
Inscription on the Nahr-el-Kelb	9-11
Theo. G. Pinches. Cappadocian Tablets in the British	
Museum and the Louvre (Plate)	1118
Professor A. H. Sayce. Kappadokian Inscriptions	19—20
George Bertin. The Cappadocian Tablets published by	
Mr. Pinches	20-21
Theo. G. Pinches. Remarks on the Cappadocian Tablet	
preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and that in the	
British Museum (Plate)	28-32
Theo. G. Pinches. Observations upon Calendars of the	
Ancient Babylonians, now in the British Museum	2222
	3 <b>-</b> 33
Prof. John Campbell. A Key to the Hittite Inscriptions	33
Professor A. H. Sayce. The newly discovered Cuneiform	
Inscription on the Nahr-el-Kelb	3436
F. W. Eastlake. Uruku versus Šišku	
r. w. Eastlake, Oluku versus Sisku	3040
Professor W. Wright, LL.D. On three Gems bearing	
Phoenician Inscriptions (Cuts)	54
Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S. On the Birds of the	
Assyrian Records and Monuments	5760

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## CONTENTS.

P. le Page Renouf. Wrong Values commonly as Hieroglyphic Groups		
Professor William Wright, LL.D. Remarks on t Inscription		1
P. le Page Renouf. Egyptian Mythology, Mist a		
W. Flinders Petrie. Pottery and Implements co Giseh and the neighbourhood, from December June 1881	r 1880 to	
A. L. Frothingham, jun. Hebrew Inscription in of the Vth century. Mausoleum of the Empre Placidia, Ravenna (Plate)	ess Galla	9
Rev. A. Löwy. Notices concerning Glass in Jewish Records		6
Geo. Bertin. Rules of Life among the Ancient A	kkadians 87—8	8
Remarks by Dr. Birch (President)	88	
Professor T. Hayter Lewis. Notes on the Tel-el-	Yahoudeh 89—9	0
L. Lund. The Epoch of Joseph: Amenhotep I Pharaoh of the Famine		2
Remarks by H. Villiers Stuart, M.P	95—9	6
Remarks by Canon St. Vincent Beechey	102	
Remarks by Dr. Birch (President)	102	
Professor A. H. Sayce. The Decipherment of the Inscriptions		4
Rev. Robert Gwynne. Note on the Mosaic of soleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna	the Mau-	
Rev. John Sharpe do. do. do.		
Professor A. H. Sayce. Notes on the Assyrian Numerals105—107		
Professor Lieblein. The Phœnicians in Egypt	· ·	•
Theo. G. Pinches. The Akkadian Numerals		

#### CONTENTS

						PAGE
Professor Edward Sachau. Inscription						117
inscription	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	/
Professor A. H. Sayce. T						
Hassan and Deir-el-Med	ineh	•••	•••	•••	I I	7-123
F. Cope Whitehouse. La				_		
tions in the Desert near	the Fay	oum	•••	•••	I 2	4-135
Secretary's Report, List of	Counci	l, &c.,	&c.	•••	47-	-51, 53
Statement of Receipts and	d Expe	nditur	e for	vear er	ding	
December 31st, 1881	_		•		_	rr <b>-</b> ra
December 31st, 1001	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	31-52
Donations to Library	•••		۲,	25, 45 <u>,</u>	55, 73	, 81, 94
Purchases for Library		•••		<b>4</b> ,	26, 46	, 56, 83
Nomination of Candidates	•••		4,	27, 46,	57, 75	, 83, 95
m .: 636 1				,		•
Election of Members	•••	•••	• • •	27, 40,	<b>57, 7</b> 5	84, 94
Notices of Decease of Me	mbers				•••	55, 93
Publications of the Socie	ty, Not	ices, 8	zc.	22-24,	41-44,	55, 71,
•					_	00-02





# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWELFTH SESSION, 1881-82.

First Meeting, 1st November, 1881.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.



THE following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—Proceedings. Vol. XXXII. Nos. 213, 214. 8vo. 1881.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—Proceedings, and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. III. Nos. 7 to 10. 8vo. July to October, 1881.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—Journal. Vol. L. 8vo. 188o.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—General Index to the fourth Ten Volumes of the Journal. [31 to 40.] 8vo. Lond. 1881.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—Classified Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Geographical Society to Dec., 1870. 8vo. London. 1871.

[No. xxvi.]

From the Geological Society:—Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXVII. Parts 2 and 3. Nos. 146, 147. May and August, 1881.

From the Royal Asiatic Society:—Journal. Vol. XIII. Parts 3 and 4. New Series. 8vo. London. July and October, 1881

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:— Journal. Vol. X. No. 3. Feb. 1881. Journal. Vol. I. 3 Parts. 1871-72. Vol. II. Nos. 1 and 2. 1872. Vol. VIII. Part 2. No. 25. 1878.

Completing the Society's set of their Journal from the commencement to the present date.

From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XXXVIII. Nos. 150 and 151. 8vo. London. 1881.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund: — The Quarterly Statement, July and October. (2 parts). 8vo. London. 1881.

From the American Oriental Society:—The Journal. Vol. XII. Newhaven. 8vo. 1881.

Proceedings at Boston. May 18, 1881.

From Walter Morrison:—The Massorah, compiled from Manuscripts alphabetically and lexically arranged by Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D. Vol. I. Aleph-Yod. Folio. London. 1880

- From Prof. R. V. Lanzone:—Catalogo Generale dei Musei di Antichità e degli Oggetti d'Arte raccolte nelle Gallerie e Biblioteche del Regno. Serie prima. Piemonte. Vol. IV. Regio Museo di Torino, ordinato e descritto da A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, e R. V. Lanzone. Monete Consolari e Imperiali. 4to. Torino. 1881.
- From the Author:—Dizionario di Mitologia Egezia, per Ridolf V. Lanzone. Prima Dispensa con XLVII Tavole. Torino. 8vo. 1881.
- From Wyatt Papworth:—Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811. Memoir on the Ruins, Remarks on the Topography of Ancient Babylon, Second Memoir on the Ruins in reference to Major Rennell's Remarks, with a Narrative of a Journey to Persepolis. By the late Claudius James Rich. Edited by his widow. London. 8vo. 1839.
- From Wyatt Papworth:—Observations connected with Astronomy and Ancient History, Sacred and Profane, on the Ruins of Babylon, as recently visited and described by Claudius James Rich. By Rev. Thomas Maurice, A.M. London. 4to. 1816.

- From the Author:—Études Égyptiennes. Tome I. 2° fascicule. Étude sur quelques peintures et sur quelques textes relatifs aux feinérailles; le conte d'Apôpi et de Soknounri. Par G. Maspero. 8vo. Paris. 1881. Reprinted from the Journal Asiatique. 1880.
- From the Author:—The Egypt of the Past. By Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S. London. 8vo. 1881.
- From the Author:—Une Nouvelle Inscription de Hammourabi, Roi de Babylone (XVI siècle avant J. Ch.). Par J. Menant. 8vo. Paris. 1880. Extrait du Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes. T. II, p. 76.
- From the Author:—La Bible et les Cylindres Chaldéens. Par Joachim Menant. Paris. 8vo. 1880. Extrait des Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. 1879-80.
- From the Author:—Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklil des Hamadânî. Von David Heinrich Müller. Zweites Heft. 8vo. Wein, 1881.
  - Aus dem Jahrgange der Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften (XCVII. Bd. III. Heft S, 955), besonders abzedruckt.
- From the Author:—La Croix Païenne et Chrétienne; traduction faite sur la deuxième édition. Par Mourant Brock, M.A. Paris. 8vo. 1881.
- From the Author:—The Unicorn; a Mythological Investigation. By Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A. London. 8vo. 1881.
- From the Author:—Descriptive Account of the Incised Slate
  Tablet and other Remains lately discovered at Towyn. By
  J. Park Harrison, M.A. London. 4to. 1881.
- From Joseph Offord:—Koptische Untersuchungen von Carl Abel, Dr. Ph. Vol. I. Part 2. 8vo. Berlin, 1877.
- From T. G. Rylands:—The Battle of the Standards. By John Taylor. 8vo. London, 1864.
- From the Publishers:—Records of the Past. Vol. XII. Egyptian Texts. 8vo. London, 1881.

The following has been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt, &c. By I. G. Wilkinson, Esq. 8vo. London, 1835.

The following were nominated for election at the next meeting on December 6th:—

Dr. Carl Bezold, 34, Brienner Strasse, Munich.

David Burnett, 107, Fortess Road, N.W.

Hon. Charles P. Daly, LL.D., 84, Clinton Place, New York, U.S.A.

Aquila Dodgson, Limehurst, Ashton-under-Lyne.

George Carruthers Finnis, 13, York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

Dr. Lucien Gautier, Professor of Theology, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Dr. Grant-Bey, The Sanatorium, Cairo.

Thomas Greer, M.P., F.R.G.S., Grove House, Park Road, Regent's Park, N.W.

Dr. William Lotz, 22, Bahnhofsstrasse, Cassel.

Dr. Alexander Macalister, The University, Dublin.

Dr. Eberhard Nestle, Münsingen, Wurtemburg.

Samuel Perkes, C.E., Larnaka, Cyprus.

Demetrius Pierides, Larnaka, Cyprus.

The Hon. George Shea, Chief Justice of the United States Marine Courts, 205, West 46th Street, New York, U.S.A.

Rev. William Saumarez Smith, B.D., Principal's Lodge, St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead.

Rev. Arnold Dawes Taylor, B.A., The Rectory, Churchstanton, Honiton, Devon.

Frederic Cope Whitehouse, M.A., Founder's Court, E.C.

Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, M.A., 25A, Norfolk Crescent, Hyde Park, W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Department of Antiquities of the National Museum of Hungary, Buda Pesth.

Dr. Birch thought that the Society would like to hear the discoveries at the Deir-el-Bahari, and that this most remarkable find of mummies should engage its attention. The site of the Deir-el-Bahari had been revealed by an Arab, and had no doubt been known to the Arab explorers for many years. By a shaft about 4 feet square and 25 feet deep, the explorers descended to a passage about 60 feet long, which was found strewed with coffins and other remains. These had been exhumed, and transported to the Museum of Boulag. where they are now deposited. The coffins and mummies of the royal persons had been removed from other Theban sepulchres. especially those at the Drah-Abou-el-Neggah, where some of those found at the Deir-el-Bahari are known to have been originally deposited, as amongst them are the coffin and mummy of Taakan III. described in the account of the robbery in the days of Rameses IX. given in the Abbott Papyrus of the British Museum. The mummies of the XVIIIth dynasty were those of Aahmes I, of the same line, the monarch who drove the Shepherd Rulers out of Northern Egypt. This mummy, it was observed, had been placed in the coffin of a private person, and although it coincided with the description of the times, and the name of Amasis was said to be written on the hands and feet, it did not necessarily follow that it was the body of the His wife, known as Aahmes-Nefert-ari, was apparently an Ethiopian, and her mummy had also been found with those of princes and princesses of the family of Aahmes. The coffin and mummy of Amenophis I, successor of Aahmes, had also been found: also those of Thothmes I and Thothmes II; but that of Thothmes I had been occupied by Pinotem II, of the XXIst dynasty, and the mummy of Thothmes had disappeared. Thothmes III, the great Egyptian conqueror, who had advanced the frontier to Mesopotamia, and even possibly to India, as shown by his elephant hunts, was also found, but in so mutilated a condition that it is impossible to make out either his features or stature, and his inscribed shroud had also extracts of the Funereal Ritual, and not inscriptions of any historical value. An inscribed board of the same period also had religious inscriptions, and no historical ones were in the find. The body of Amenophis I had probably reposed in a tomb of the Deir-el-Bahari. but those of the Thothmes family had probably been originally in sepulchres in the vicinity of the Deir-el-Bahari itself; and up to the present moment the original sepulchres had not been discovered.

Some other mummies and coffins of the XVIIIth dynasty occurred; but after Thothmes III none till the XIXth dynasty: the coffins and mummies of two early kings, Seti I, whose tomb was in the Biban-el-Melook, and whose coffin of alabaster is in the Soane Museum, also the wooden coffin and mummy of Rameses II or Sesostris, whose tomb and sarcophagus are in the Biban-el-Melook. The period of the removal of these mummies was in the seventh year of some monarch, probably Herhor, of the XXIst dynasty, and according to the hieratic inscriptions, is stated to have been caused by the fear of a foreign invasion: and the Assyrian conquest of Egypt by Assurbanihabla or Esarhaddon naturally suggests itself. No mummies or coffins of the XXth dynasty, but only some bones and other objects, were found; but of the XXIst dynasty, at which period and for whom this mummy pit was made, several of the kings and princes were discovered: Pinotem II, with satyrrial features like Voltaire; in the coffin of Thothmes III, with brown skin as if a mulatto or Ethiopian, other members of the family of Pinotem III, the king Menkheperra and his wife Hesiemkheb; the queen Makara, with her deceased infant daughter, and various other mummies of the period. mummies or coffins were discovered after this period.

The Rev. Henry George Tomkins read a communication on the Campaign of Rameses II, in his fifth year, against Kadesh on the Orontes.

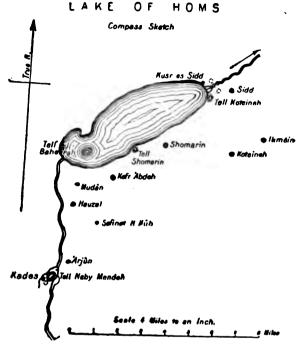
For the homes of the various tribes allied together against the king of Egypt, Mr. Tomkins expressed the opinion that it was not necessary to seek far into Asia Minor, as had been proposed by some writers; they might he thought be found within narrower limits. Their names as given on the inscriptions were mentioned, with some identifications as to position and race.

The position of the fortified Kadesh was next considered. The second pylon of the Ramesseum (Ross. M. R. cix-cx, Leps. Denk., vol. iii, 164) gives the Orontes flowing from the left into a lake which curves upwards, and then turns to the right, where the doubly-moated Kadesh stands on its island, with bridges above and below, the lower bridge being south, for the Kheta, shown there, crossed the southern moat (as the narrative says) to attack the brigade of Ra.

Below the river a straight embanked canal runs right across the picture. With these particulars agrees the tableau on the first pylon of the Ramesseum (Denk. III, 157-160), where we have the important addition of the point where the canal flows out of the Orontes at its east side, north-easterly in direction. In both pictures Kadesh must be at the north-east end of the long lake, which, is at least five times as long as the island where Kadesh stands, and cannot represent a mill-pool 50 yards across with a Tell 400 yards long. It must be the Lake of Homs (formerly Lake of Kadesh); and in the sunken level about Saddeh, "behind Kadesh," and "to the north-west," as the Egyptian narratives tell us, a large force might lie unseen by Râmeses as he advanced from the south along the north-west side of the lake. This agrees with all the military movements depicted in the two battle-pieces of the Ramesseum, and in the colossal tableau of Abusimbel, which Mr. Tomkins explained in detail with drawings, map, and diagram, showing how, in his opinion, the ground north-west of Tell Neby Mendeh (Lieut. Conder's Kadesh) would be fully in view of the Egyptian army as they "crossed a ridge (as Lieut. Conder says), and descended into the plains north-west of (his) Kadesh," the very place where the great ambuscade would have been laid, and the movements given would be quite inconsistent with this position. He therefore adhered to his supposition (expressed to Lieut. Conder before he left England) that "the fortified island with its double moat and bridges formed a part of the great engineering works at the northern end of the long lake, which included the great dyke holding up the waters of the Orontes, by which the lake was artificially formed."\*

The route by which Rameses arrived at the place, with the cities he passed, were mentioned, and finally the events of this short campaign were traced. The various positions of the troops as represented upon the great battle-piece at Abu-Simbel, which covers an area of 57 feet in length and 25 feet in height, were pointed out and described.

<sup>\*</sup> Palestine Exploration Fund "Quarterly Statement," July, 1881. For the use of the annexed sketch map of the Lake of Homs, explaining the identification made by Lieut. Conder, we are indebted to the kindness of Walter Besant, Esq., M.A., Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund.



The Rev. Wm. Wright agreed with the lecturer in limiting the area of the district from which the allies of the Hittites came. He had no doubt that the places mentioned would be found in the vicinity of "the land of the Hittites" when the explorers had thoroughly investigated that region.

He thought Mr. Tomkins had accurately traced the march of Ramses II from "Khetam in the land of Zar," to Kadesh on the Orontes, the chief town of the Khita. He had made excellent use of the material on which he was obliged to work, and had only failed to recognise "Tell Neby Mendeh" as the Kadesh of the Khitar, through the ambiguous way in which the name Lake was used in the Egyptian inscriptions. Lieut. Conder was correct in the spelling of Tell Neby Mendeh, and he was right in confirming Dr. Thomson's identification of that place with Kadesh (see "The Land and the Book," p. 110). Mr. Wright, after securing the casts of the Hamath Inscriptions, returned with Consul Green in 1872 to Tell Neby Mendeh, and found the name Ketesh well known.

The place answered perfectly to the Kadesh of the inscriptions. The lake at Tell Neby Mendeh is quite large enough to form an important feature in an Oriental battle-field, and the water may then have been raised much higher for strategic purposes. The proportions between the water and the fortified town are fairly preserved in the picture of the scene which illustrates the heroics of the Theban poet. He had no doubt that in the poem of Pentaur two lakes were referred to—the little Lake of Kadesh, around which the battle was fought, and "the lake of the land of the Amorites," namely, the Bahr el Hums, in the vicinity of which a part of the Egyptian army must have been when the battle began. He pointed to Mr. Tomkins' map drawn up on the hypothesis that the battle must have taken place round the great Lake of Hums, to show that the hypothesis was untenable. It was easy to overcome distance on a map, but supposing the crossing place at each end of the lake to have been eight or ten miles apart, the Khita chariots must have gone careering round a circuit of forty or fifty miles or more during the battle. Mr. Wright considered that Mr. Tomkins' map showed-in fact proved—that the battle of Kadesh could not have been fought around the great lake. Mr. Wright regretted that he had been unable, through pressure of work, to supply Mr. Tomkins with facts when he wrote to him, but he congratulated him on the use he had made, without visiting the scene, of the slender evidence as to locality, and also on the interest he had awakened in a very remote and obscure incident.

Remarks were added by, Captain Cameron, Mr. T. Tyler, and the President.

The following Communication has been received:—

OURENS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Oct. 21st, 1881.

The Society may like to hear something about the newlydiscovered cuneiform inscription on the northern bank of the Dog River, near Beyrût, an account of which has been sent to the Athenaum by Canon Tristram. The inscriptions have been uncovered by the Danish Consul, who has also taken photographs and squeezes of them. Through the kindness of Canon Tristram I have been permitted to examine the photographs, and I can therefore report something about their contents. The photographs, however, represent only the longest of the inscriptions, which is in four

columns, and only portions of that. Owing to the deplorable condition the original seems to be in, and the loss of many characters in the photographs from their being in the shade, it is impossible to do more than make out a word here and there. I hope that when the squeezes arrive we shall find them of greater assistance.

The photographs, however, are sufficiently clear upon one important fact, the authorship of the inscription. The forms of the characters are those in use in Babylonia in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and as the general style of the inscription is that of Nebuchadnezzar's texts, I had little hesitation in ascribing it to the great Babylonian monarch. My conclusion was subsequently confirmed by my finding Nebuchadnezzar's name in the second column, where it is written:—

and is followed in the next line (as in the East India House Inscription) by the titles T I I ru-ba na-da, "exalted prince." The first column seems to record the construction of some public work, perhaps of the ancient aqueduct close to which the inscription is found. I can make out the following words in it: to approach;" # IN I riesu, "the head"; IN IN agurri aczur-va, "the brickwork I put together, and"; agurri, "brickwork," again in the next line, and abnu. "I made," in the line after; THETY + "copper"; ⟨ |- ⟩ si and ⟨ |- → ⟨ sinati, "it" and "them" (fem.); H A Ha I lustalme; agurri again, followed by abnu and Sippara." In the second column we have | | | | | | | | mamis urdu, "like waters they descended"; but as the light fell badly on this part of the photograph I can make out little more.

I heard of the existence of cuneiform inscriptions on the northern bank of the Nahr-el-Kelb last March from Dr. Hartmann, the dragoman of the German Consulate, but unfortunately I had just left Beyrût. As I stated in the *Academy* of May 21st, p. 373, I learned from him that a cuneiform inscription had been discovered there three or four years ago by the workmen employed in constructing an aqueduct. The stone containing the inscription was

cut out of the rock, and carried off by the 'Amir of Sibnâ' or Sebnâya before it could be seen by any Assyrian scholar; and as the 'Amir believes it possesses magical virtues, it is now kept jealously concealed from the scrutiny of Europeans. Above the place where this inscription was found, "another inscription containing about ten cuneiform characters still exists," said Dr. Hartmann, "on the face of the cliff." It must be this which the Danish Consul has now uncovered.

Yours very truly, A. H. SAYCE.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:—

Amongst the collection of the British Museum is a small tablet obtained in 1876 from S. Ali Shan, of Constantinople. This tablet, which is said to have been found in Cappadocia, is in a very fair state of preservation, and is written in a rather rough and peculiar style, approaching very nearly to archaic Babylonian. No one, evidently, has ever tried to make out this text, most likely on account of the roughness of the writing, and the strangeness of the forms, and being only a contract-tablet, was thought unworthy of any trouble bestowed upon it.

During my recent stay in Paris, I was enabled, by the kindness of M. Babelon, to look over the collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to copy a small tablet which attracted my attention by the peculiarity and neatness of its writing.

On examining it more closely, however, I found that the writing, though neat, was extremely difficult to read, and that, moreover, the language seemed to be neither Assyrian nor Akkadian. The shape of the tablet, which was about two inches and a half square, was exactly that of the little tablet from Cappadocia, the characters were in exactly the same style, though formed with a better instrument, and between each line of writing was a ruled line, which, as in the tablet in the British Museum, often cut off the top of one or more characters. Moreover, the clay was of the same colour. Being pressed for time, the copy of this interesting tablet which I made was, unfortunately, only a rough one. If I had known that the text was likely to be of any special value, I would have tried to spend more time over the copy. The text proved, on examination, to be a gift of silver to the sun-god.

An examination of the British Museum tablet showed that this also was written neither in Assyrian nor Akkadian. The number of ideographs employed, however, enabled an Assyriologist to see very easily that it was a contract-tablet, and, moreover, that the transaction was for twenty objects designated by the characters \( \)

Now it happens that, among the collection sent by Mr. Rassam from Kouyunjik in June last year, are two little report tablets, addressed to a king of Assyria, concerning certain consignments of Kusâa horses which the king was to receive, and amongst these appeared a kind of horse called (ANSU \* KU-TINMES)—the same word as is found in the tablet from Cappadocia, with the determinative prefix for a beast of burthen, and the plural suffix. This connection gave at once the key to the nature of the contract, and confirmed the information given on the label, stating that the tablet came from Cappadocia. Before going farther, however, it would be better perhaps to give a transcription and translation of these two Assyrian tablets.

## I. 80-7-19, 25.

- 1. Ana šarri bêlîa To the king my lord
- 2. ârdi-ka Nadinu. thy servant Nadinu.
- 3. Lû-salîmu ana šarri May there be peace to the king
- 4. bêlîa. Adanniš, adanniš my lord. Ever, ever
- 5. (ilu) Nabû (ilu) Marduk may Nebo (and) Merodach
- 6. ana šarri bêlîa to the king my lord
- 7. likrubu be propitious.
- 8. viii murniski† 8 horses
- 9. Kusaa (from) the Kusaa
- 10. (nišu) abrakki (for) the attendant
  11. nešati ekalli† of the women of the po
- 11. nešâti ekalli‡ of the women of the palace,
- 12. XII murniski† 12 horses
- 13. Kusâa (from) the Kusâa
- 14. (nišu) abrakki ummi šarri, (for) the attendant of the mother of
- 15. XI murniski Kusâa 11 horses (from) the Kusâa
- 16. XLIX murniski (and) 49 horses

the king,

<sup>†</sup> E Y E Y So throughout the text.

<sup>‡ ★ ► ★</sup> better perhaps "the woman-palace," that is "harem."

# BAKED CLAY TABLET FROM CAPPADOCIA

NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

1	《短区以上上发图》
2	<b>多级过去人居农业</b>
3	多四四四个多百万
4	平位为《图》即以图》
5	國田等到國國新
6	四多個內可因置以
7	富官官官
8	1944年12到4人20
9	<b>◇李麗園田園田園→東</b>
10	医四层
11	<b>14</b> 四日 4 四国
12	<b>第一個中國中國</b>
13	图 小鼠野蜂 富工 实
14	<b>豐」以第一四日日日</b>
15	<b>於其 中國 在 第</b>
16	医人生性 第一年 人国
17	<b>年</b> 即 二

The size of the tablet is If in by It in. The writing covers the whole of the Obverse, the lower edge, and about two-thirds of the Reverse.

17. ša bathalli which (are) stallions.
18. naphariš* Lx[xx] murniski Altogether 60 (80) horses.
19. ša (nišu) tartanu From the Tartan
20. lå gammarûni geldings
21. ultu Kusâa from the Kusâa
22 murnisķi horses
23 bathalli stallions
24 murnisķi horses

[Edge] ûmu anniu êtarbûni have gone down this day.

### II. 80-7-19, 26.

- 1. Ana šarri bêlta To the king my lord
- 2. årdi-ka Nabû-šum-iddin thy servant Nabû-šum-iddin.
- 3. Lû-salîmu ana šarri May there be peace to the king
- 4. bêlîa. Adanniš, adanniš my lord. For ever, for ever
- 5. Nabû Marduk ana šarri may Nebo and Merodach to the king
- 6. bêlîa likrubu. my lord the king be propitious.
- 7. XIII murniski † mât Kusâa 13 horses from the land of the Kusâa,
- 8. III murniski t sipte 3 young horses
- 9. ša måt Kusåa from the land of the Kusåa
- 10. naphariš xvI murniski ‡ ša niri altogether 16 horses of the yoke.
- 11. XIV murnisķi‡ ša bathalli 14 horses which are stallions—
- 12. napharis xxx murniski † altogether 30 horses.
- 13. IX ANŠU KU-TIN-MEŠ 9 ku-tin-
- 14. [naphariš] xxxix al Karnê [altogether] 39 from the city Karnê
- 15. [v] murnisķi ‡ mât Kusâa [5] horses from the land of the Kusâa
- 16. [IV] siptu ša murnisķi ‡ [4] young of horses
- 17. [mât] Kusâa [from the land] of the Kusâa-
- 18. [naphariš] IX ša niri [altogether] 9 draught horses.§
- 19. XIV murnisķi ‡ ša bathalli 14 horses which are stallions—
- 20. napharis xxIII murniski ‡ altogether 23 horses.
- 21. V ANŠU-KU-TIN-MEŠ 5 ku-tin horses-
- 22. napharis xxvIII al Dâna altogether 28 from the city Dâna.
- 23. XIX murnisķi ‡ Kusâa 19 horses of the Kusâa

<sup>\* \(\</sup>frac{1}{2}\). This sign, with the meaning napharis, seems to be a short way of writing \(\rightarrow\), which has that value in Assyrian.

<sup>+</sup> 以所は即1/1---

<sup>#</sup> Y Service evidently short for E TE TO FINE THE STATE OF THE TOTAL PROPERTY OF THE STATE OF THE

<sup>§</sup> Lit. "of the yoke."

- 24. XXXVIII murniski \* ša bathal 38 horses which (are) stallions-
- 25. napharis LVII al Kullania altogether 57 from the city Kullania
- 26. xxv murniski\* ša bathalli, vi anšu-ku-tin meš 25 horses, which (are) stallions, 6 ku-tin—
- 27. naphariš xxxI al Arpadda altogether 31 from the city Arpad,
- 28. la gammarûni geldings.
- 29. XIII murniski \* ša bathalli 13 horses which (are) stallions,
- 30. X ANŠU-KU-TIN-MEŠ 10 ku-tin horses-
- 31. napharis xxIII al Isana altogether 23 from the city Isana.
- 32. [Edge] [Naphariš XLVI] murniski\* Kusâa, CIV murniski\* ša bathalli
  Altogether 44 horses of the Kusâa, 104 which (are) stallions
- 33. [Naphariš] CXLVIII murniski, \* XXX ANŠU-KU-TIN-MEŠ—naphariš

  Altogether 148 horses 30 kutin horses—altogether

  CLXXVIII êtarbûni

  178 have gone down.

We will consider the second tablet first. It will easily be seen that it is a question of 178 horses, divided into three classes,—Kusâa-horses, horses of Bathal, or which are bathal (stallions?), and which are kept as a half-distinct class; and these animals were from the land of the Kusâa, and had been sent from the cities Karnê, Dâna, Kullania, Arpadda, and Isana. What it is now needful to find out is, where is the land of the Kusâa, and the five cities mentioned in connection with it.

Now the city of Dâna is given by Xenophon ("Anabasis," book i, ch. 2) as the name of a town in Cappadocia, now bearing the name of Kízhisár, and Arpadda is the well-known Arpad of the Bible. Kullania and Isana are probably named in the order of their distance from Assyria, so that the former is most likely some distance north of Arpad, and the latter the nearest station on some ancient highroad to Assyria, while Karnê is likely enough a town in Cappadocia,† westward of Dâna. All these towns must therefore have been halting-places for caravans, &c., journeying between Cappadocia, or Armenia and Assyria. The situation of the Kusâa is not so well fixed by these horse-tablets. We are told, however, that Solomon, as well as the kings of the Hittites and Syria, were supplied with horses and chariots from the land of Egypt. ‡ These

<sup>\* \* \*</sup> 

<sup>†</sup> Mr. G. Bertin (to whom I am indebted for many facts and suggestions) has pointed out that this must be Corna, in Lycaonia.

<sup>1 1</sup> Kings, x, 29.

horses from Egypt might easily have come originally from Ethiopia, and if so, the Kusâa must be identified with the people of Kush, the Kûsu of the Assyrian inscriptions, from which the word Kusâa would be quite regularly formed by the change of the *u*-ending into -âa; but it is more likely that Kusâa is the name of the people of Cappadocia itself.

Now as to the internal evidence of the tablet from Cappadocia itself, that also is confirmatory of this view. The tablet, as was before remarked, is a contract for "20 ku-tin—10 kutin nama, young kutin, and 10 kutin Kusua," which two last words we may translate "horses (or mules?) of Kusu." Lower down the words "80 kutin" occur, and it is worthy of notice that the smaller tablet (that first translated above) mentions a number of horses which amount also to 80 (60 is the summation given by the Assyrian scribe, but this seems to be a mistake). These horses, or mules, were sold, so the Cappadocian tablet tells us, for  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a mana and 5 shekels of silver.

If the conclusions that I have drawn from these tablets be correct, we have the following facts: that there was a close connection between Cappadocia and Assyria about the 7th century, B.C., that about the same time the cuneiform style of writing, borrowed from the Babylonian in very early times, was in use, and we ought, therefore, from our two texts, to get a very good idea of the Cappadocian language. Unfortunately, however, on the British Museum tablet almost all the nouns are written ideographically, so that any case-endings that may exist are not easily seen. In the case of the Paris tablet, however, it is not so; for almost all the words are written phonetically, and I have been able to tabulate the following forms:—

#### PARIS TABLET.

```
i-ri-si-im
Pi-ni-šu-ri-im (name of a woman)
hap-pi-ni, hap-pu-hi-ni
i-hi-ni
ni-hi-in
a-hi-na
a-hi-ma-ba
a-hi-ma
a-har
A-šur-gal
Dan-a-sir
} names of women.
```

BRITISH MUSEUM TABLET.

ma-ta-nim, l. 6.
i-ša-u-mu, l. 9
i-ša-a-ma, l. 12
i-ša-ma[l], l. 17
na-ma, l. 3

[The only word common to both tablets is ana, which seems to be a preposition.]

Now it is clear, from the word *irisim*, and the name Pinisurim (we may campare with these the Piḥirim of Hilakki (Cilicia) of W.A.I. I.); that we may infer the existence of a nominative case ending in -im, and other word-forms, both nominal and verbal, ending in -in, ni, -na, -maba, -ma (-ama), -mal (-amal, -ama), and -umu. It may be here remarked that if these endings are verbal, we should expect a language allied to the Sumerian—the southern dialect spoken in Babylonia in the earliest times.

It has been pointed out by Prof. Sayce (Transactions, VII, 261), that what we know of Hittite art seems to be derived from Babylonia and not from Assyria, and this is borne out by our new inscriptions, which are written in a character distinctly Babylonian. The boss of Tarkûtimme also, forgery though the object, as we know it, must be, has been copied from a genuine original, which is, most likely, in existence somewhere, and the characters engraved thereon are distinctly Babylonian in style, with only such a departure from the original forms as we should expect to see in the inscriptions of a people whose intercourse with Babylonia had become, most likely, very limited. It is therefore not impossible that the cuneiform inscription round the edge is really a translation of the Hittite characters in the middle. It must here be noted, however, that the language of the cuneiform and of the hieroglyphs are not necessarily the same.

#### TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TABLET FROM CAPPADOCIA.

- 1. xx ku-tin-a a-bar-ni-e,
- 2. x ku-tin-a
- 3. na-ma, ku-tin -Y si-a;
- 4. x Ku-su-a, ki-hi-e si-a
- 5. ša-lu-bu-uš ša-ru-uš (?)
- 6. si-hi ku-tin-a ma-ta-nim
- 7. -Y₄ si-a ¥ ša-el-u-gar
- 8. ma-lal V ku-tin-a a-na
- 9. el-u-gar i-ša-ú-mu

- 10. mir-tam LXXX ku-tin-a
- 11. ►Y si-a a-na
- 12. el-u-gar i-ša-a-ma
- 13. a-na za-al(?)-ba
- 14. ú-ša-rum lu-rum ša-el-u-ma
- 15. 🔒 ma-na, v tu ta
- 16. ik(?)-ut a-na el-u-gar
- 17. i-ša-mal

 must therefore be regarded as doubtful. In a list published in W.A.I. II, pl. 44, l. 7, Fig. 45 from comes after the word "camels."

- 6. The first character would perhaps be better transcribed by hab.
- 7. The reading el-u-gar is doubtful. It is possible that the first of these three characters is not read at all.

The character na is of the form commonly used in the more ancient Babylonian texts (na), with the uppermost horizontal wedge placed inside. In line 6 it has wedges in both positions, evidently a mistake of the scribe.

I bring these two inscriptions before your notice merely as objects of interest. Whether they be of real value or not I leave for others to determine. Though they may not be themselves the key to the Hittite language, yet they may serve to throw such light upon it as may enable us with greater ease to determine what it really is, and so put us upon the road to the solving of the question.

# TRANSCRIPTION INTO ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS OF THE TABLET FROM CAPPADOCIA, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

- 1. 《国处队上当时
- 2. 小公 > 17 ( ) 坐 17
- 3. 一时国处内公司队
- 4 〈国之川((国4川)-14川(
- 5. 到面参到到细刻(?)
- 6. 可《国处》目述《四
- 7.14时以前 611(日
- 8. 對下「国处肾界」
- 9.600(包啡到500)
- 10. 即国 4 000 国 业 17
- 12. 企業 (日本 ) [1]

- 15. 41 到 文 图 图 图
- 16. -YA((?) AY N ----- CEMY ( ESA
- 17. 注 到 深

My dear Mr. Rylands.

QUEENS COLLEGE, OXFORD,

October 29th, 1881.

Mr. Pinches is to be congratulated on the important discovery he has made. But I do not like to speculate myself on the meaning of the words contained in the tablet he has published, until I have seen the Paris tablet which, he tells us, contains a larger number of phonetically written words. I can, however, add a third cuneiform inscription from Kappadokia to the two found by him. When I was in Smyrna last spring I saw a small gryphon's head, carved out of red stone, and in a peculiar style of art, which had come from Kappadokia. On this was the following inscription in what may be termed the Asianic form of cuneiform writing:—

You will notice the arrow-headed shape of the characters. I have not mentioned this inscription before, as I do not know where it begins, though I suspect that it is to be read in a circular fashion,  $\gamma \not\models$ , cu, being the first character, and  $\gamma$  the last.

I do not understand what Mr. Pinches means by saying that "the boss of Tarkuhimme" must be a forgery "as we know it," since all we know are the casts made by Mr. Ready and M. Lenormant, neither of which can be stigmatised as a forgery. The original is now probably in Russia, like a large part of the rest of M. Jovanoff's collection. Mr. Whittall, the best living authority on such a subject, told me that I "might rest assured of its genuineness, since no oriental forger either could or would make an object of the kind." But the matter is settled by the palæographical evidence. By the way, I cannot agree with Mr. Pinches' ingenious reading Tar-ku-utim-me.

In my Appendix on the Trojan Inscriptions in Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, I pointed out that the inscription copied by Hamilton at Eyuk is in the Kappadokian alphabet and dialect. Mr. W. M. Ramsay last summer copied a second inscription in the same alphabet at

Eyuk. A part of the latter, which consists of two lines on two faces of a stone, had already been seen and copied by Mordtmann; but the second face of the stone, and consequently the characters upon it, were concealed by the wall of a house at the time of his visit. The two lines I would read as follows, the inscription probably running from right to left:—

- 1. AFSONP (?) R (?) ĔTSĒS
- 2. ON (?) AFE.. TUG (?) AKSOS

As in Hamilton's inscription the final O of the second line will mark the genitive case, Sesterpnos in the first line being probably the name of a man in the nominative.

Yours very truly,
A. H. SAYCE.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

4th October, 1881.

The importance of the discovery of Mr. Pinches cannot, I think, be overrated, for we have now a new language written with a syllabary borrowed from the early Babylonians. Who were the people speaking this new tongue? and what tongue did they speak?

The evidence brought forward by Mr. Pinches proves that they inhabited Cappadocia, that is, they were the *Muski* of the Assyrian Inscriptions. Sir H. Rawlinson has proved that these were identical with the *Moski* of the Bible, which Josephus positively places in Cappadocia. It may be noticed that though Egypt was especially known in Syria for its breed of horses (Deut. xvii, 16), Cappadocia had also a reputation for the excellence of its horses and "mules," which were imported for the Syrian kings (Ezek. xxvii, 14). We know also, from Xenophon, that horses formed a portion of the tribute paid by the Cappadocians to the Persian kings. I should therefore be inclined to accept for *Kutin* the proposed translation "mules."

Through the kindness of Mr. Pinches, I have been able to examine his copies of both the Cappadocian tablets, and, from a careful survey of the various forms of the words, I am satisfied that the writing is a dialect allied to the Aryan or Indo-European tongues, and especially to Armenian. I may here mention that Sir H. Rawlinson declared some years ago that the inner populations of

Asia Minor, or Cappadocia, were Aryan, and that the names of the Moschian kings could be explained by the Aryan or Semitic dialects (Herod. 1, 678). The two tablets are certainly non-Semitic. It is also important to notice that the Cappadocians were called "Gomer" by the Armenians, and that Gomar, Moshek, and Togarmah are placed in the Biblical genealogies (Gen. x, 2-3) with Madai (Medes) among the sons of Japhet.

Yours faithfully,

G. BERTIN.

The next meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, December 6th, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read:—

- I. By Theo. G. Pinches:—"Remarks on the Cappadocian Tablet," preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and that in the British Museum. Casts of the Tablets will be exhibited.
- II. By Professor John Campbell, of Montreal:—"The Key to the Hittite Inscriptions."
- III. By Theo. G. Pinches:—"Observations upon the Calendars of the Ancient Babylonians."

## FUND FOR ALTERATION AND EXTENSION OF THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY.

In consequence of the removal of the Offices of the Society to No. 11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., a special fund has been formed for the alteration and extension of the Society's Library.

The following subscriptions have already been received by the Secretary. Further amounts subscribed will be duly acknowledged in the Proceedings:—

oceedings :				£	s.	d.
James Backhouse	•	•••	•••	2	2	0
Robert Bagster		•••	•••	1	1	0
Rev. Charles James Ba	<b>J1</b>	•••	•••	3	3	0
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Professor T. Hayter Le	wis, ]	F.S.A.	•••	5	5	0
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Sir Charles Nicholson, I	Bart	•••	• • •	2	2	0
J. Manship Norman, M	[.A	•••	•••	5	0	0
Miss Peckover		•••	•••	2	2	0
John E. H. Peyton			•••	2	2	0
T. G. Rylands, F.S.A.,			•••	5	0	0
W. H. Rylands, F.S.A.	(Secr	retary)	•••	5	5	0
George Samuel		•••	•••	10	10	0
Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A	٠.	•••	•••	5	5	0
Joseph Sidebotham, F.S.			•••	20	0	0
Rev. Henry George To		s	•••	I	I	0
Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S.		•••	•••	5	0	0

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar.
Arabic Chrestomathy. 1 vol., texts, and complete glossary.
Delitzsch, Assyrische Studien. Heft I, 1874.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 1872.
Die Assyrische-Babylonischen Keilinschriften, 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, Five Great Monarchies. 3 vols.
OSBURN, The Monumental History of Egypt. 2 vols., 8vo.
The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841—1852.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (Text only.)

### SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.



# The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.

[SHALMANESER II, B.C. 859-825.]

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., &c.



Parts I, II, and III have now been issued to Subscribers, with some portion of the letterpress description by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches.

In accordance with the terms of the original prospectus, the price for each part is now raised to  $\mathcal{L}_{1}$  ros.

## Texts in the Babylonian Wedge = writing.

Being a series of carefully autographed plates, copied from tablets written in the Babylonian character only; compiled by Theo. G. Pinches, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum.

The design of the Author is to furnish students with the means of making themselves acquainted with the Babylonian style of writing, and to this end the texts, which will be of high value and interest, will be accompanied by as complete a syllabary of the Babylonian characters as can now be made, arranged in a convenient form for reference.

It is proposed to issue the work in two parts:—Part I is now in preparation, and will be ready for issue about February next year. The price will be about 4s. for each part.



JJL 21 1882

## THE SOCIETY

OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWELFTH SESSION, 1881-82.

Sixth Meeting, 2nd May, 1882.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L, LL.D., &c., President, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXIII. No. 218. London. January, 1882.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—Proceedings, and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. IV. Nos. 4 and 5. 8vo. London. April and May, 1882.

From the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XIV. Part II. 8vo. London. April, 1882.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Proceedings, Session 1881-1882. Nos. 11, 12, and 13. 4to. London. 1882.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement. 8vo. London. April, 1882.

From the Victoria Institute:—The Journal of the Transactions. Vol. XV. 8vo. London. 1882.

From the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—
The Archæological Journal. Vol. XXXIX. No. 153. 8vo.
London. 1882.

[No. xxxi.]

81

- From the American Oriental Society:—The Journal. Vol. XI. No. 1. 8vo. New Haven. 1882.
- The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. IV. No. 2 (No. XIV). 8vo. Chicago. January, 1882.
  - Contains articles on Ancient Temple Architecture, by Rev. Stephen D. Peet, and on the Hittite Inscriptions, by John Campbell, M.A., &c.
- Report of the Third International Geographical Congress, Venice, September, 1881. By Lieut. G. Kreitner, Delegate of the N. China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. 1882.
- Le Muséon, Revue internationale, publiée par la Société de Lettres et de Sciences. Tome I. No. 2. Louvain. 1882. 8vo. Contains article by C. de Harlez, "Cyrus, était-il roi de Perse ou de Susiane?"
- From the Author:—Dizionario di Mitologico Egizia, R. V. Lanzone, Seconda Dispenza, con XLVIII Tavole. 4to. Torino. 1882.
- From the Author:—Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux. Par François Lenormant. Tome deuxième, 1<sup>re</sup> partie. L'humanité nouvelle et la dispersion des peuples. 8vo. Paris. 1882.
- From the Author:—The Law of Kosmic Order, an investigation of the physical aspect of Time. By Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A. London. 8vo. 1882.
- From the Author:—Otium Norvicense, pars tertia. Notes on select passages of the Greek Testament, chiefly with respect to recent English versions. By Frederick Field, M.A., LL.D. 4to. Oxford. 1881.
- From the Author:—Les fouilles de M. de Sarzec en Mésopotamie; Antiquités Chaldéennes. Par J. Menant. Reprinted from the Gazette des Beaux Arts.
- From the Author:—Light and Darkness, &c. By the Rev. Alfred Iones, B.D. 8vo. London. 1881.
- From W. Morrison:—Tent Work in Palestine, a record of Discovery and Adventure. By Claude Reignier Conder, R.E. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1878.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Description of the East and some other Countries. By Richard Pococke, LL.D., F.R.S. 2 vols. Folio. London. 1743-45.

Travels through Different Cities, etc., and several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates. By Alexander Drummond. Folio. London. 1754.

Travels in Ethiopia. By G. A. Hoskins. 4to. London. 1835. Sandys Travailes. The Sixth Edition. Folio. London. 1658.

Rudiments of a Vocabulary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics. By Samuel Sharpe. 4to. London. 1837.

The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis, restored by James Ferguson. 8vo. London. 1851.

Nineveh and its Palaces. By Joseph Bonomi, F.R.S.L. Second Edition Revised. 8vo. London. 1853.

Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana, &c. By William Kennett Loftus, F.G.S. 8vo. London. 1857.

The Monumental History of Egypt. By William Osburn, R.S.L. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1854.

The Religions of the World. By William Osburn. 8vo. London. 1857.

Memoranda illustrative of the Tombs and Sepulchral Decorations of the Egyptians. 8vo. London. 1822.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on March 7th:—

Rev. William Barnard, B.A., Alveston Vicarage, Stratford-on-Avon. Robert A. Bellman, 38, Cawley Road, South Hackney, E.

Alfred Kemp Brown, B.A., Arundel Lodge, Unthanks Road, Norwich.

Alexander George Ellis, B.A., Suthrey House, Mortlake, S.W.

Dr. Paul Haupt, 12, Friedländer Weg, Göttingen.

General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., 4, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.

Rev. Frederick William Ragg, M.A., Masworth Vicarage, Tring. Mrs. Warne, Penn Hill, Yeovil.

83

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th June:—

Samuel Bird, 15, Sussex Place, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.

R. P. Greg, Buntingford, Herts.

E. H. C. Stephenson, Lympsham Manor, Weston-super-Mare.

The Rev. A. Löwy read the following paper, entitled "Notices concerning Glass in Ancient Hebrew Records."

The Hebrew word Zechuchith זכוכית is employed to denote "glass." Whether it has this signification (in Job xxviii, 17), or whether it relates to some precious stone, is a debateable question. The word zechuchith means a pure substance, and does not imply transparency. The Phœnicians, though credited with the invention of glass, have not left any other records except the names of some makers of glass vessels. On some Phœnician relics occurs the name Whether the Jews, as neighbours of the of Artas the Zidonian. Phœnicians, were manufacturers of glass during the Biblical period of their history, cannot be proved by any relics. M. Longpérier published in 1856 the drawing of a vase in opaque white glass,\* which was brought from the East by M. Péritié, the Chancellor of the French Consulate at Beyrout, and he suggested that this was a Jewish glass vessel, in which case it must be of a post-biblical period.

Of glass which came from Assyrian excavations, the British Museum has several specimens: one of B.C. 700 bears the inscription of Sargon. A more direct insight is given by the Egyptian monuments, where we have pictorial representations of glass-making. The earliest relic brought from Egypt bears the inscription of Thothmes III, and was made B.C. 1,500. The Coptic name of glass, Badjiein or Abadjein, and some variations of this word, have no connection with Semitic words. The Coptic names of the substances of which glass is made are likewise unconnected with Semitic vocables, sand being called in Coptic sha and nitre hasmen; whilst the Hebrew for sand is chol (), and for nitre nether (), corresponding with the Greek and Latin vitpov and nitrum.

In the Aramaic dialects glass is called zegugitha, or zugitha, from which is derived the Arabic zajaj. In the Aramaic languages zug has

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athæneum Français." 1856. January, p. 4.~

the meaning of glass-like lustre, but this may be a secondary meaning. It is more likely that the glassmakers introduced the name zugitha from zug, "a combination," inasmuch as glass is the result of a combination of sand and soda. The Arabs have given a wide extension to the word zajaj or zagag amongst Mahomedan nations. But amongst the Arvan Mahomedans in India in Persia, in Kurdistan, as also among the Turks, glass is called shisha. In Hebrew shésh or shâvish is the name of marble, and may eventually have been used in the signification of glass. Whether glass was in the earliest days manufactured in Palestine or not, glass vessels must have been known to the Iews. This is not to be inferred from the circumstance that the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought to light numerous fragments of glass vessels, for such vessels may have been made at a late period, but it is an indubitable fact that the Phœnician traders, according to the testimony of the Bible (Proverbs xxxi, 24, and Hosea xii, 8), constantly came to Judæa to offer their wares. Israelite women liked to adorn their necks with glass beads: specimens of such ornaments occur in the tombs of the Egyptians and the Etruscans. Among the treasures which Dr. Schliemann discovered at Hissarlik, the so-called site of Troy, and again in the graves of Mycenæ, Egyptian or Phœnician glass beads have been found. Even beneath the lakes of Switzerland, where the palebuildings of ancient inhabitants have been brought to light, glass beads were discovered, which none but Phœnician traffickers could have carried to Switzerland, just as they brought them into the lands of the ancient Britons. No doubt can, therefore, exist that the Hebrews of the earliest date were fully acquainted with articles made of glass. With the commodity itself the names of variously shaped vessels wandered more or less from one country to another, and many of those names may have reference even to glasswares. Hebrew word han (רְבָּוֹל), a well-known small measure, may be identical with the Egyptian han, a vessel. The Hebrew word cad, a pitcher, appears to be identical with the Latin cadus, and perhaps with the Arabic qadah. The word qab (22), a small measure (2 Kings, vi, 25), which is continually employed in Rabbinical writings, must have been known to the ancient Syrians. descendants, the Nestorians, still call a cup bash-qab, literally an "upper cup." The Greek κυφελλον, the French coupe, the Italian coppa, the Dutch kop, and the diminutive form occurring in goblet. Referring to the post-biblical records of the Jews, Mr. Löwy drew attention to the Targum of Jonathan on Deut. xxxiii, 19, where it is stated that the excellency of the sand in the land possessed by Zebulun fitted this substance particularly well for the manufacture of glass, a statement which derives some corroboration from the account which Pliny gives of the same district. With regard to nitre, i.e., soda, the Talmud drew attention to the superiority of the substance exported from Egypt over that which was found near Antipatris, in the vicinity of Cæsarea, near the Mediterranean Sea. In the Rabbinical period glass was manufactured in Judæa. The apparatus for glass making, and the shops where the articles were retailed, were carefully mentioned by the Rabbins. They enumerated various articles of glass, such as beads, cholioth shel zechuchith (דולביות עול זכובית). lanterns, fanes (DID), which the Persians adopted in the word fanus, They term a glass plate, tabla (מבלא); from the Greek dayos. a common glass dish, skutla (סקוטלא), from the Latin scutella (hence the English word scuttle). The Rabbins also speak of several other objects of glass relating to domestic and ornamental uses. Particular notice is taken by them of the manufacture of much-prized white glass. This species, which perhaps was iridiscent, is stated to have disappeared at the destruction of the first Temple; but probably for the "first" the "second" should be substituted. As an article of display, the ancient Jewish teachers spoke of glass in connection with their proverbial sayings. One of them remarked that the

acquisition of knowledge is as difficult as gold, and the loss of acquired knowledge may be as rapid and irrecoverable as an article of glass when broken. But another observer shrewdly remarked upon the same subject, "The broken article can be pieced together, and the negligent student can make amends." Concerning an heir of property, it is stated that if he wished to get rid quickly of his fortune, he could best do so by dressing in rich silks, by indulging in the purchase of articles of glass, and by employing work-people without looking after them.

In conclusion, Mr. Löwy mentioned a statement from the Talmud which stands in connection with one of the Jewish customs of the present day. Rab Ashi, in celebrating the nuptials of his son, went to the extremes of hilarity. His colleagues, to bring him back to sober earnestness, took a glass, obviously of high price, and breaking it before him, they attained their object (Berachoth, folio 31a). The mediæval glossator of this passage observes that such a practical admonition gave rise to the existing custom of breaking a glass at Jewish weddings. In Mr. Löwy's opinion the custom was derived, like many other Jewish usages, from the prolonged intercourse of the Jews with the Romans.

Remarks were added by Canon Beechey, J. Park Harrison, F. G. Hilton Price, F. D. Mocatta, Rev. A. Löwy, and the President.

A Paper was read by Mr. George Bertin, on the "Rules of Life among the Ancient Akkadians":—

After a few remarks on the progress of Assyriology since the first attempts at translation, Mr. Bertin noticed that there were in the British Museum several tablets belonging to the same series, the real meaning of which had escaped translators when dealing with the tablets separately, but which is quite clear when the series is taken as a whole. These tablets give precepts for the conduct of man in his various occupations: one treats of the duties of the agriculturist, another of the duties of man towards his family, and so on. It was the contents of one of these tablets that had been selected by Mr. Bertin as the subject of his paper.

First, the child is declared to be of age, and after the ceremony of emancipation he became a citizen, paying tribute and answerable for

his own actions. After a break of a few paragraphs comes the question of marriage, and, according to the tablet, it is the father who negociates this important affair; the first wife could not be other than a free born maiden. The paragraph following next, and treating of the betrothal, is much mutilated, but seems to speak of the various kinds of marriages; as a wedding gift the young man was to give a drinking vessel, which was no doubt the one used at the marriage ceremony; after the ceremony he received the dowry.

The first duty of the young married man was to build a shrine, and when this was finished he could then enjoy his honeymoon. On the birth of his first child it was placed in the shrine. After a few paragraphs relating to the education of the child and his being taught to read inscriptions, the last act of paternal authority is to find a wife for the son, and when this is done the father and son come under the common law.

The text then gives some definitions as to the laws touching the relationship of the son and father and mother, and also about the duties of masters towards their servants.

Mr. Bertin then gave as a complement to the above, an interesting tablet confirming his views; it had been transcribed and translated by Mr. Pinches, who communicated it to him, and contained the statement of a woman claiming her dowry, in which she gave the history of her matrimonial life; her request was granted by the judges.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. Bertin, and the Secretary.

The President, in remarking on some points of the paper, referred to the small number of students of Assyrian Archæology. The Society had to thank many kind friends for valuable communications dealing with the History, Geography, or Language of the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and it was the hope of the Council, and no doubt of the Members of the Society, that they might have from time to time papers like that just read, illustrating the lives of the people themselves, and also some notice of their works of art. A study of figured antiquity of the Assyrians was required to make clear many points of interest in their history. For example, it might be said that except the names being mentioned in the texts, little or nothing is known about the gods of Assyria.

The following Communication has been received from Professor T. Hayter Lewis:—

### MY DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Since I wrote my paper upon "Tel-el-Yahoudeh," I have visited Egypt again, and been to the Tel in company with Mr. Greville Chester. Dr. Grant had arranged likewise to go, but was prevented doing so at the last moment by a professional engagement.

I had his plan with me on the spot, and was surprised that he had been able to make so good a one, considering the extremely irregular surface of the ground. I am sorry to say that the Arabs (who appear not to be under any control) have made, and are making sad destruction with the ancient remains.

The large cisterns or baths still remain intact, but the descending passage (the part of the ruins which I was most anxious to explore) was not to be found, and I was told that it was buried under the dibris, and that the alabaster blocks with which it was lined had been torn away and burnt into lime. The digging of the Arabs has, however, opened out some more remains, e.g., many pieces of mosaic tiles, fragments of statues, columns, &c., showing that the walled enclosure comprised buildings of a grander type and more extensive scale than I had supposed.

East of the "mound with ancient tiles," as marked on Dr. Grant's plan, we found a granite statue of Rameses III.

Near "the statue of kneeling priest" (in the bend of the road), is a basalt cistern, six feet four inches by three feet eight inches, and, close to it, a granite half-column (i.e., cut longitudinally from top to bottom through its centre) two feet six inches in diameter, of papyrus or lotus stalks, and with the bud capital as found at Beni Hassan, Karnak, &c. This half-column is very unusual, and if it had been of limestone, I should have thought that it was an old one cut into two in later times.

A round bowl-shaped (but solid) piece of granite, four feet three inches in diameter and two feet six inches in thickness, suggests the idea of its having been cut off from the bottom of a column. But the cutting both of this and the half-column must have been so difficult that I think that the forms are original.

The most important work however, not shown on Dr. Grant's plan, is a fine wall of well-dressed limestone blocks, in the inner side of and parallel with the "double wall," which forms the east side of

1882

the enclosure. This limestone wall is, in fact, a continuation of that shown by Dr. Grant at the south-east angle of the mound, and must have been built at a very early period, as it is at a great depth below the level of the double wall, which itself bears signs of being ancient. In the "double wall" there is a large circular bastion, near the point marked by Dr. Grant as "Keep." It would thus appear that the space originally enclosed, whatever its purpose or date, had on the east side and part of the south side, a solid stone wall of good masonry. That the upper part of this wall was afterwards ruined and buried, together with the whole or the greater part of the building, and that upon the site of the wall were constructed the great mound and the crude brick fortification which surmounted it is clear.

The earliest dates which appear on any of the cartouches or the tiles, statues, or other parts, are those of Seti I, Menepthah II, and Rameses III. But the papyrus referred to in my paper gives the further date of Rameses II, who appears to have erected a "guard house" at the Tel. The *latest* date is probably that of the tiles, which have Greek letters at the back.

Yours very truly,

T. HAYTER LEWIS.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, June 6th, 1882, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

I. By E. Lund:—"The Epoch of Joseph: Amenhotep IV as the Pharaoh of the Famine."

II. By Prof. A. H. SAYCE:—"The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions."

Mr. Bird has kindly sent for exhibition his picture of an Assyrian War-horse, with trappings, &c., restored from the monuments in the British Museum.

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
Vols. I—III (Brugsch). Vol. IV, in 2 parts (Dümichen).
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
2nd series, 1869.
Altaegyptische Kalender Inschriften, 1866.
Tempel Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LANE, Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians. 2 vols., 8vo.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
Königsbuch der Alten Aegypter. 4to., 1858.
DE Rouge, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar.
Arabic Chrestomathy. I vol., texts, and complete glossary.
Delitzsch, Assyrische Studien. Heft I, 1874.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, Five Great Monarchies. 3 vols.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841-1852.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (Text only.)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862-1873.
L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
MASPERO, Du genre epistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'epoque
Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
Suo Paris 1870

## SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.



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The design of the Author is to furnish students with the means of making themselves acquainted with the Babylonian style of writing, and to this end the texts, which will be of high value and interest, will be accompanied by as complete a syllabary of the Babylonian characters as can now be made, arranged in a convenient form for reference.

It is proposed to issue the work in two parts:—Part I is now ready. Price 4s. 6d. As only a limited number of copies have been printed, a single part cannot be sold separately.

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

#### **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

### THE SOCIETY

OF

### BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

#### TWELFTH SESSION, 1881-82.

Seventh Meeting, 6th June, 1882.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The President announced with great regret the decease of M. Chabas, one of the Honorary Members of the Society.

François Joseph Chabas, born 2nd January, 1817, was the son of Vincent Chabas, a retired Captain in the French Army, and Marie (Ferrus) his wife. He was born and educated at Briançon (Hautes Alpes), and at the age of 13 years entered business.

In 1852 several articles published in the *Revue Archbologique* by the Vicomte de Rougé and M. Prisse d'Avennes having come under the notice of Chabas, he commenced the study of hieroglyphics, and from this time up to the time of his illness his pen was never idle. To enumerate his many publications here would be out of place, but they will be found in a "Notice" by the Baron Textor de Ravisi prefixed to the volume of Mémoires du Congrès provincial des Orientalistes Français; St. Etienne, 1875.

M. Chabas died at his house at Versailles, on the 17th May, 1882, aged 65 years.

[No. xxxii.]

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Société Royal des Antiquaires du Nord:—Mémoires, Nouvelle Série, 1880. Copenhagen. 1882. 8vo.
- Tillæg til Aarboger for Nordisk oldkyndighed og historie. Aargang 1880, 1881. Copenhagen. 8vo.
- From the Smithsonian Institute:—Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1880. Washington. 8vo. 1881.
- From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXIII, No. 219. 8vo. London. 1882.
- From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. IV, Nos. 6 and 7. June and July, 1882.
- From the Geological Society:—Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXVII. Part 2. No. 150.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings, Session 1881–1882. Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 17. 1882.
- From the Anthropological Institute:—The Journal. Vol. XI. No. 4. May, 1882. London. 8vo.
- From the Author:—The Early History of the Mediterranean Populations, Iberians, &c. By Hyde Clarke. London. 8vo. 1882.
- From the Author:—On the Origin of the Phoenician Alphabet. By G. Bertin, M.R.A.S. 4to. 1882.

Reprinted from Orientalia Antiqua. Vol. I. Part 1. 1882.

From the Author:—Boorg ez Ziffir. Cairo. By Protessor T. Hayter Lewis,

Reprinted from the Journal of the Archæological Association, 1882.

From the Author:—Christ's Earthly Sojourn as Chronology's Normal Unit. 8vo. London. 1882.

The following were submitted for election, having been nominated on May 2:—

Samuel Bird, 15, Sussex Place, Victoria Road, Kensington.

R. P. Greg, Buntingford, Herts.

E. H. C. Stephenson, Lympsham Manor, Weston-super-Mare.

The following were nominated for election:-

Edward Thomas Davis, 75, Caversham Road, Camden Road, N.W. Alfred H. Paul, Tetbury.

The Rev. James Robertson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Glasgow University.

Mr. H. Villiers Stuart, M.P., in exhibiting a large coloured drawing of the remarkable funeral canopy lately discovered near Thebes, produced some fragments of the original leather, the colours of which were now as bright as the day they were made. He stated that Queen Isi-em-kheb, in whose honour the canopy had been made, was a contemporary of Solomon, being mother-in-law to Shishak, who took Jerusalem after the death of the latter.

He further, as illustrations of the paper by Mr. Lund, exhibited paper squeezes of the heads of Amenhotep IV and Khuenaten, from the figures which respectively occur on the opposite sides of the façade of the tomb, which he himself had discovered and excavated at Thebes.

Mr. Villiers Stuart pointed out that there could not well be a greater contrast between the two heads, although up to the present time Egyptologists had concurred in considering that Khuenaten and Amenhotep IV were the same person, and that the names were nothing more than the earlier and later name of the same disk-worshipping Pharaoh.

He pointed out that on this tomb Amenhotep was represented as being remarkably stout and burly in physique, while on the contrary Khuenaten was a lean, effeminate looking man, just as he is represented in the well-known Tel-el-Amarna sculptures.

Mr. Villiers Stuart called attention to what he thought must be a fatal objection to Mr. Lund's identification. The Bible told us that from the time of Joseph's death and the Exodus, the children of Israel increased from seventy to I,000,000; and it was remarked that the 430 years assigned by St. Paul to the Egyptian bondage would not be too much time to allow for that increase, and would just correspond

with the interval between Amasis, the founder of the XVIIIth dynasty, and Meneptha, in whose reign the chronicler Manetho dated the Exodus.

A Paper entitled "The Epoch of Joseph: Amenhotep IV as the Pharaoh of the Famine," was read by Mr. L. Lund.

After some introductory remarks, Mr. Lund, to fix the epoch of Joseph, took his starting point from the statements of the Bible (Gen. xlvii, vv. 14-20, 25-26), that Joseph, during the famine, caused the Egyptians to sell, as payment for grain, their treasures, their landed property, and even their persons, to the king; and that, from Joseph's days, the Egyptian king was the owner of the whole country. This is further explained by some passages from Artabanos (Euseb. "Præp. Evang.," IX, c. 23), indicating that Joseph had diminished or abolished the power of the magnates of the country, a measure that generally is identical with the establishment of an absolute kingdom. The first step must be, consequently, to investigate, from the documents of Egyptian history, whether such a social revolution ever has taken place, and if so at what time.

A comparison between the inscriptions in the tombs, from different epochs, will settle the question. From the ancient reigns, and also from the so-called XIIth, XIIIth, and XVIIIth dynasties, we have a number of inscriptions from tombs of magnates often exhibiting a feeling of content with the honours having been bestowed upon them by their sovereigns, but always maintaining a proud, independent Quite different is the spirit of documents and inscriptions dating from the so-called XIXth dynasty, when the king often is adulated and exalted in a way before unknown. The earliest documents in which this new spirit is apparent are those from the times of Amenhotep IV (Khunaten). As the magnates are still flourishing under Amenhotep III, at least during the first part of his reign, there are some reasons to suppose that the revolution must have taken place at the end of the reign of this king, or at the commencement of that of his successor. The next step then will be to investigate whether at this time some events may have happened in Egypt like those mentioned in the Bible in connection with the history of Joseph.

From the later years of the reign of Amenhotep III, we have a very important monument in the tomb of Khamhat (or Shamhat), a

magnate and high functionary. (Prisse d'Avennes: "Monuments Égyptiens," pl. 39-42. Lepsius: "Denkmäler," Abth. III, pl. 76, 77.) Here the pictures and inscriptions alike commemorate the fact that the crops were abundant, and that the collection of grain was a chief business of the royal government at that time. "The superintendent of the magazines of grain" is mentioned as being busy in speaking to the landowners to induce them to yield to the king the greatest possible quantity of grain. Further, we receive the information that the king paid for the grain with neck-chains.

A number of official reports mentioning a king Amenhotep, written on pieces of calcareous stone, and preserved in the British Museum, must also date from the later times of Amenhotep III, or the commencement of the reign of his successor (Birch: "Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character," pl. XII, XIII, XV. Chabas: "Mélanges," IIIme, Série, Tome I, and XXVIII. pp. 202-220). They are four in number, and in three of them grain or granaries are mentioned. In two of them is mentioned also a very high dignitary, and both the king and this dignitary are honoured by an unusual application of the determinative 3 to their titles, and even to verbs or pronouns relating to them, which seems to indicate that the documents date from a time immediately after the establishment of a new state of things. One of these documents (Birch, I.c., pl. XV) states that at the day of the coronation of King Amenhotep, and at other times during the commencement of his reign, workmen broke into houses and stole loaves, cakes, grain, beer, in short victuals of all kinds, which seems to indicate that a famine raged at that time. There are reasons for believing that the king mentioned is Amenhotep IV, and the very high dignitary who is honoured by the determinative I, had charge of the magazines of victuals.

In a tomb of the southern necropolis of El Amarna (No. III, by Lepsius: "Denkmäler," Abth. III, pl. 108, 109), a picture is preserved, representing King Amenhotep IV, accompanied by his queen and his daughters, standing on a balcony; a crowd of people are appearing before him, and he evidently is explaining something to his subjects. At the foot of the balcony a high functionary is seen standing in the attitude of giving his orders. Near him a clerk is busy writing something; before this clerk stands a box, in which the people are depositing neck-chains and other valuables, while they at the same time ask for a written receipt from the clerk. Behind

the clerk other people are waiting, listening to the king's words, and bringing with them leather bags and large vases, which were employed to carry grain in, as we know from other documents and pictures. Below, two other clerks are delivering to the people the bags or vases filled; and the people are seen carrying away on their shoulders the large vases and bags, which seem to be heavy. Two guardian clerks stand at the gate through which the people are passing out. This picture seems to be a copy of a bas-relief which adorned some wall of the new temple of Aten, in Thebes, built by Amenhotep IV: at least the king's figure, in the same attitude and with the same ornaments, is found again on a stone originally used in the said temple (g. Prisse d'Avennes: "Monuments Égyptiens," pl. XI, 4).

In another tomb at El Amarna (No. 1, by Lepsius: "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 103-105), we meet with a picture which seems to have been executed some few years after the one mentioned. Here the king and the queen, with three daughters, are seen standing on a balcony, throwing out to the people for scrambling all kinds of ornaments and precious things. Foremost in the crowd are seen the possessor of the tomb, Aï (afterwards a king), and his wife Ti, receiving the lion's share of the treasures. Somewhat in the background, and turning his back to the scene described, stands another high dignitary, apparently of still higher rank than Aï; a number of people are urgently asking for something, or imploring him, and kissing his feet. But his attitude is not at all that of a mild benefactor: he rather appears as a diplomate, explaining that only on certain conditions will he grant their requests.

Consequently we have, from the epoch supposed to be that of Joseph, a series of monuments agreeing with the narrative of the Bible concerning him and his work in Egypt. During the latter period of the reign of Amenhotep III grain in great quantities is purchased by the king, and during the first year of the reign of Amenhotep IV the king sells grain to his subjects. Further, everywhere in these documents or pictures, a high dignitary appears, of so high a rank that he is honoured with the determinative of a god, and figured in the tombs of other prominent people. This high dignitary, so unusually honoured, has charge of the granaries, and superintends the sale of grain from the royal magazines. His name is nowhere mentioned, but he fills exactly the place which, according to the account of the Bible, Joseph occupied.

The two pictures mentioned above, from the tombs of El Amarna, perfectly illustrate the narrative of the Bible about the famine. The earlier one agrees with the description of the earlier years of the famine (Genesis, xli, 54-56): Pharaoh said to all Egypt, "Go to Joseph, and do as he says to you." And Joseph opened all the magazines and sold to the Egyptians. (Genesis xlvii, 14): Joseph collected all the valuables that existed in the country . . . for the grain which they purchased, etc.—And the latter picture illustrates the end of the famine (cf. Genesis xlvii, 18): "Nothing is left us to offer to my lord, beyond our persons and our dominions; why shall we die before thy eyes? Take us, ourselves and our dominions, in payment for bread!" Concerning this last mentioned picture, some passages from the so called Targum of Jonathan-ben-Uzziel, and from the Targum Jerushalmi (to Genesis xlix, 22), also seem to prove that it really belongs to the epoch of Joseph.

In order to fully and firmly establish the new theory, it remains to investigate whether all other documents relating on one side to the history of Amenhotep III and IV, and on the other side to Joseph, are in conformity with it. Mr. Lund announced that he had during some years collected, from different sources, a great number of documents relating to the history of Egypt and the Hebrews during the epoch from Amenhotep III to Rameses II, which are all in harmony with the above conclusions, and which he considered satisfactorily explained the seemingly contradictory statements of the Bible, Eusebius, Syncellus, Abulfaraj, etc. From want of time it was impossible to consider all the material collected; he therefore chose those documents which principally related to the reign of Amenhoten IV, or the history of the famine, such as different monuments or inscriptions, and some passages and narratives from Rabbinical writings, from Manetho, Tabari, Strabon, Diodoros, etc. clusion, a sketch was given of the history of Amenhotep IV as it would appear after the results obtained. The following are some of the principal points in this sketch:

During the first part of the reign of Amenhotep III, a magnate, Amenhotep, surnamed Hui, seems to have governed both king and country, like another Richelieu. As his opponent in political as well as in religious questions, appears the queen Tii; the monotheistic movement, so peculiar in this time, seems to have originated many years before Joseph made his appearance in Egypt. The queen

must have been successful in breaking the power of Hui: in the later years of Amenhotep III nothing is heard about him, while the crown prince, who shares his mother's opinions, appears as the co-regent of his father. An attempt is made to poison "the king" (or rather the crown prince), in consequence of which a plan is conceived to abolish entirely the power of the magnates. This plan was laid by Joseph; and the history about the dreams of the king seems to have been only a kind of veil to cover the real intention of the king's measures. It was a custom in Egypt that the magnates laid aside the superfluous grain to be given to their subjects when a failure of crops should happen: the grain was not exported, and had no other value. Now during a series of years the king purchased all the superfluous grain from the recent harvests every year; and at the time when the crops failed, it proved that the old grain in the magazines of the magnates had been eaten up by worms, and so the king alone possessed good grain. Meanwhile a mercenary army had been formed, and garrisons placed in all the cities to defend the king's magazines. The magnates came to the king, then Amenhotep IV, to purchase grain: but now the dreams again served as a pretext to give out at one time only such small quantities of grain that the people never had enough to sow the fields; and Joseph in that way secured to himself the fulfilment of his prediction. When the power of the magnates had been completely broken, and they had yielded all their possessions to the king, Joseph gave seed corn to the people, and the famine ended. The deposed magnates partly accepted positions in the king's service, and partly emigrated to the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, especially to Krete, where they by means of laws tried to prevent any one man coming into possession of the whole country, thus laying the first foundation stone of republican institutions. During these events the king had built at Thebes a new temple for his only god, Aten. The priests of Amen, who had been from the earliest times the principal god of Thebes, strongly opposed the new religion, and a revolt seems to have broken out. The revolt was quelled, and the rebels were condemned to work in the quarries, to cut stones for the building of a new capital. Haru instead of Thebes. The king seems to have followed the counsels of Joseph also in these matters. The new city appears to have been built in a very short time, and to have been very magnificent: the prototype of the great halls of columns erected afterwards by Seti I and Rameses II, seems to have existed here. But soon

after the erection of that city, and after the end of the famine, Amenhotep IV must have died.

Mr. Lund also offered some new opinions as to the origin of the so-called ring-money (imitation of Egyptian neck chains), concerning the interpretation of the word [7] (a union of chains, and not a union of rings or a single chain); the signification of the word ("Greeks," one of the nine peoples, originally designated "magnates." especially those of Upper Egypt and of Syria); concerning the settlements of Joseph's kinsmen (Khaldeans, Khalu) in Goshen (Gesem, Kasion, Kazina), and their appearance on the monuments of Amenhotep IV, etc. Mr. Lund also gave a new translation of the wellknown passage of the Greek Papyrus Harris, about [ ] ( ) (), which he refers to Joseph. His translation was as follows: "There was a time when the people of Egypt went away to settle in foreign The inhabitants of the capital had no king residing among Years of abundance preceded a change of the state of things. them. The country of Egypt was under military chiefs, commanding in the cities. One slew his second" (i.e., one Egyptian slew another; civil "Afterwards, during years of want, a thoroughly extra. war raged). ordinary change of the" [established] "state of things" [took place]-"Aalisu, a Khaldean, was the principal chief among them. The whole people were yielding to him their possessions and their persons, and lost their property," etc. To which Mr. Lund added some remarks about the variations of the name of Joseph (Jehoseph, Osarsiph, Eliseph, Raseph, in accordance with Seti = Usiri = I, or Iaubidi = Ilubidi, or Jerubbaal = Jerubbeseth, etc.). The king Setnekht could, in his opinion, have scarcely been the father of Rameses III, but only his ancestor, and he was probably to be identified with the son-in-law and successor of Amenhotep IV.

Finally, some remarks were added about traces of these events preserved in popular tales among the Oriental nations: where King Amenhotep IV, "Khunaten" (sometimes confounded with Joseph) appears as "Shedad," Hui as "the prophet Hud," and Joseph as "Og Ben Onk" (Haq Panankh). From these tales it appears that Amenhotep IV perished in a hurricane in the desert, when on a journey to visit his new capital (Irem = Haru).

Remarks were added by Canon Beechey, Rev. A. Lowy, and Dr. Birch, in reply to a question of Mr. Villiers Stuart as to whether it was customary for the king at certain festivals to distribute collars, said that the collars were distributed for military successes.

The tablet records 400 years between the Shepherd Kings and Rameses II, but it is uncertain which Shepherd King is mentioned.

Josephus evidently was of the opinion that the time of the arrival of Joseph in Egypt was during the reign of the Shepherd Kings.

Of the fortifications built by the Jews—the so-called "Treasure Cities"—one was named after Rameses II, and built in his reign, and the Exodus took place subsequently. The successor of Rameses II would not be found at the Deir-el-Bahari, and he was not the monarch of the XVIIIth Dynasty to whose reign the Exodus has been assigned, was found.

Canon Beechey thought that the scene of the investiture with collars, was evidently a base copy of a much better sculpture. The investiture of Poeri in the reign of Seti I at . . . . . . was a similar sculpture, from which the one at Tel Amarna had been copied.

He also thought that the Rabbinical books were of no authority, and the conclusions drawn from them were opposed to all historical evidence. There was no reason to doubt the Greek authorities, who agree in assigning the visit of Joseph to the reign of the Shepherd King Aphophis. The introduction of the horse into Egypt, which appears both in the Bible and on the monuments, between the days of Abraham and Joseph, almost alone assigns the visit of Abraham to the reign of Amenemes III, and that of Joseph to the Shepherd Kings. He could mention many other corroborative evidences, did time permit.

Mr. Lund replied, and his remarks will be printed in a future number of the Proceedings.

A Paper by Prof. Sayce, on "The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions," was read by the Secretary:—

Mr. Sayce showed that the accurate copies of the casts from Hamath, and of the three inscriptions from Carchemish now in the British Museum, which have been taken by Mr. Rylands, have at last made it possible to make some progress in the decipherment of the Hittite texts. He pointed out the great variability in the forms of the characters allowed themselves by the Hittite engravers, even in the same inscription, a variability which renders the close resemblance between the characters found at Carchemish and those near

the figure of Niobê in Lydia all the more striking. He then went on to state that if we start with the four phonetic characters and two ideographs the values of which are given by the bilingual boss of Tarkondêmos, it is possible to decipher certain portions of the inscriptions from Hamath and Carchemish. Thus a certain group of characters is found several times at Carchemish before the ideographs of "king" and "country," and must therefore denote a royal name. The three first characters composing it are always the same, the third being that which on the bilingual boss has the value of me. latter is twice followed by the head of a goat, which the bilingual boss informs us was pronounced tarkus. It is replaced, however, sometimes by two characters, sometimes by three, the first character in both cases being identical, and therefore representing the syllable Mr. Savce showed that where only one character followed it the latter had the value of kus; where it was followed by two characters they had respectively the values of ku and es. This es is attached as a suffix to nouns, and sometimes to each of a consecutive series of nouns; and since the nouns to which it is attached often come at the beginning of a sentence, it must represent the Hittite nominative, which according to the evidence of the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, terminated in s. At the beginning of an inscription a proper name ending in the nominatival es is preceded by an ideograph, sometimes representing a head with the hand pointing to the mouth, sometimes a face with a lozenge-shaped word issuing from the mouth. The ideograph plainly means "he says," and the phonetic complement, me, which is often added to it, will be the suffix of the third person singular. This Mr. Savce further verified by other evidence. He then proved that the ideograph shown by the Boghaz Keui sculptures to be the determinative of divinity is occasionally omitted before the name of a god. This is invariably the case where the god's name is part of a proper name. At Ibreez the determinative appears only once, before the picture of a serpent, and close to the face of the god sculptured on the rock. As the serpent also adorns the god's cap, it clearly symbolizes his name. Coins of Tarsos which represent the same deity show that he was the Kilikian sun-god, whose native name has been demonstrated by Ed. Meyer to have been Sandas or Sandan. Now the seal-impressions found by Layard at Kouyunjik are mostly duplicates. have upon them the picture of a writing tablet, which must have signified "seal," followed by the figure of the serpent, a phonetic complement, which a variant passage in one of the Carchemish texts proves was the vowel u, and an ideograph of unknown value. Another legend on the seal-impressions begins with the figure of the serpent, after which comes an unknown ideograph and the characters It is evident that we have in the first case a genitive— "the seal of Sandu ..."—and in the second a nominative. "Sandu-xmes." Now the only foreign king, so far as we know, whose sealimpressions were likely to have been preserved in the record-chamber of Assur-bani-pal was Sanda-sarmes, king of Kilikia, who came to Nineveh in person, and whose daughter married Assur-bani-pal. seals may have been attached to the marriage contracts. have proof that the Hittite mode of writing was practised in Kilikia at least as late as the middle of the seventh century B.C. Mr. Savce next proceeded to determine the phonetic values of some other characters; that, for instance, which resembles the Kypriote ne is shown by a variant passage to have the value of e. The grammar of the Hittite inscriptions was also discussed, so far as it could at present be made out. Ku is the suffix of the first person singular of the past tense, the boot (of unknown phonetic value) denoting the third person plural. Kus is the patronymic suffix, and in two parallel texts from Hamath the name of the father with this suffix replaces the name of the son. The plural accusative ended in e, like the Kappadokian a, but the plural was also denoted by a special ideograph, which was used alike with nouns and verbs. copulative conjunction occurs rarely, its place being taken by adjectives, the terminations of which are the same as those of the substantives with which they agree. A suffix er seems to represent the dative. As the country over which the kings at Hamath are said to rule is the same as that of which the princes of Carchemish call themselves kings, it would seem that Hamath must have been conquered at one time by the Hittites of Carchemish. monuments now at Carchemish belong to the same monarch, but a different one is mentioned on an inscription copied on the site of Carchemish by Mr. Boscawen. When we consider how few and mutilated are the Hittite texts we possess, the fact that so much can be determined in them encourages us to hope that with the acquisition of other and more perfect inscriptions, the progress of decipherment will be rapid.

The following Communications have been received:-

St. Mary's Vicarage, Crown Street, Soho, W.C. 5th May, 1882.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The enclosed extract explains the fire and brazier in the mosaic of the Mausoleum of Gallia Placidia, at Ravenna, and accounts for the figure having been represented by some as St. Laurence, instead of "Our Lord," = Adônai.

Yours sincerely, ROBT. GWYNNE.

Extract from "Italy and Her Invaders;" by Thomas Hodgkins, 2 vols., Oxford, 1880, on the Mosaic in the Mausoleum of Gallia Placidia, at Ravenna.—" Christ, wielding His cross like a sword, and "with something in His form and attitude reminding one of the "description in the first chapter of the Apocalypse, stands with "an open book, probably the Gospel of St. Mark, in His hand; at "a little distance off, an open bookcase discloses the other three\* "Gospels; between Him and them is a great brazier, in which "heretical books, perhaps those of the Nestorians,† are said to be "burning, the flames and the smoke being very vividly rendered." Vol. I, p. 469.

QUEENS COLLEGE, OXFORD,

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

May 2nd, 1882.

Mr. Bertin's interesting Paper on the Assyrian Numerals, in the new volume of the Transactions of this Society, has recalled to my attention the passage in W.A.I., V, 12, 30-34, in which the Sumerian names of some of the numerals are given. This column, I am surprised to find, has not been explained; so I send you a word or two on what has always seemed to me the obvious interpretation of it. Only the Sumerian names of the numerals, it will be observed, are written phonetically in the text; their Accadian names, contained in the second column, are expressed as usual by ideographs. I still believe that the latter are substantially what I tried to make them out to be some years ago in the "Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft," xxvii, 4. Dr. Haupt, I see, con-

<sup>\*</sup> The names appear on the mosaic.

<sup>†</sup> Placidia issued laws against heretics; the Nestorians were condemned by the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.

jectures that the Accadian word for "four" was tattaba, or tattaha, but W.A.I., 57, 36, where sanabi is stated to be the Accadian word for "forty," as well as 55, 51, 52, seems to make it clear that the real word was sana. Hence the value of sa for  $\Psi$ , a value which I can see no reason for supposing to be of Assyrian origin, as has recently been maintained.

I should restore the passage in W.A.I., V, 12, 30-34, in the following way:—

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5. Ear	Y	হ্যা বি
6 ⊁ ԷҮ	Υ	<b>⟨</b>  - →
7 [?] 水泽	m	三十二二二十二二二十二二二十二二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十

Mr. Pinches is evidently wrong in supplying \(\times\) instead of \(\times\) in line 3.

Asustuv, in the first line, seems to be equivalent to "root." In W.A.I., IV, 1, 3, 42, sir-sir is rendered by the Assyrian yassasu "(the plague) will take root in." An allied word to zir, is susru, for süsiru, a title of Anu (W.A.I., II, 48, 30), which is explained by assisu (W.A.I., II, 48, 38), asasu being given in the preceding line as the translation of zi-ir. This asasu has, of course, no connection with asasu, "a nest of birds" (W.A.I., V, 32, 56.) In W.A.I., II, 45, 62, gesdin susru, "the susru vine" is mentioned between "the vine of the fox" (an allusion, perhaps, to the world-old fable of the fox and grapes), and tillat carani, "the tendrils of a vine," and in W.A.I., II, 7, 12, u susru is rendered by yumu khasu.

In the second line the Sumerian tsibba must, as elsewhere, correspond to the Accadian dugga (dúga). Since sa (?) means "to take away," Assyrian nasu, and dúga is "statement," the meaning of sá(?)-dúga ought to be "subtraction" (literally, "statement of taking away"). The Assyrian amtasi is the first person singular of the iphteal of a verb, and will be the technical term for "subtracting." So the kal imsi, "he rejected." (Smith's "Assurbanipal," p. 16, line 56.)

In the third line, the preposition ta, shared alike by Sumerian and Accadian, is as usual translated by the Asyrian istu, "from." Amtasi, it will be noticed, has become so much of a technical word, as to be equivalent to a substantive, and consequently capable of being construed with a preposition.

That id was "one" in Accadian, I showed as far back as 1870, when attempting to lay the foundations of Accadian grammar in the "Journal of Philology"; we now know that the numeral had the same pronunciation in Sumerian also.

Owing to the fracture of the sixth and seventh lines, it is impossible to discover what "two" and "three" were in Sumerian. The word for "three," however, ended in mus, which may imply a corresponding Accadian gus.

Yours very truly,
A. H. SAYCE

GISSING RECTORY, DISS, NORFOLK.

DEAR SIR,

I would suggest (what has probably occurred to many others) that the Hebrew inscription at Ravenna, which Mr. Fotheringham reads בְּרֶבָּוּ, "our Lord."

It seems impossible to get N out of the first letter, whilst it is exactly a N, except that the opening at the foot is closed up, as often happens in writing. So also no reason can be given for lengthening into N, or rather for shortening N into N. As to the point over the N, I suggest that its object is to show that the following letter N is not a wâu of the vowel, but a final nûn. In this case it is analogous to the dot in Syriac, which is used to distinguish words according to its position, ag, c c c "to him," c "to her." This dot was probably prior to the use of vowels in Syriac; and so in Hebrew it may have been used when the need of some sign of distinction was being

felt, but a vowel system was not yet worked out. Here it would show the word was בְּרָבָן not יַבְּרָבָן. The title would be familiar from 1 Cor. xvi, 23, and Syrian influences would be felt at Rome.

Yours, truly, John Sharpe.

The following communication, on "The Phœnicians in Egypt," has been received from Professor Lieblein.

As I have recently devoted my attention to the trade and voyages of the ancient Egyptians on the Red Sea, I have pleasure in communicating something of these particular researches.

In Lepsius, "Denkm." II, 115, [c. 16], we find the following:—

"These jackals are Bennu people who are descending." Now there is the question, who were the Bennu people? I believe, to speak shortly, that they were the Phoenicians. In Greek the word phoenix means a palm as well as the bird called phoenix, and the Phoenician. In Egyptian means bennu, being determined by the bird the phoenix means bennu, being determined by the bird the phoenix means bennu, being determined by the bird the phoenix means; also BHNNE means "palm." Now those people actually named means "palm." Now those people actually named means "bennu people," as I say, the Phoenicians; so we have for the Egyptian ben the same three meanings, palm, phoenix-bird, and Phoenicians, as is the case with the Greek point and poon, and means ben are identical, or at least may be so. \*

If this explanation is correct, the sentence cited gives us the extraordinarily valuable result, that the Phœnicians had descended as early as the time of the VIth Dynasty through the Hammamat

<sup>\*</sup> The Arabic bun, "son," it cannot be, for in this case a genitive ought to be placed after it, as in Beni Hassan, Beni Suef, &c., &c. In the present case a verb stands after bennu.

Valley to the Nile Land; naturally in order to bring their merchandise from the Red Sea to the Egyptians, namely, the Copts. How the Phœnicians could come here is easy to understand, but that they did so for the present cannot be closer settled; here I will only bring forward the fact that two local names of this district appear to be a survival of this people.

Several miles northwards from Coptos there was situated on the Nile a town of the name of Pa-bennu, and in the neighbourhood of the same an island in the Nile called Tabenne. Indeed Brugsch mentions \* that the Pa-bennu is the same town as that which is described under the Ptolemies as Ha-bennu, a name which means "the house of the phoenix bird."

But in the first place Ha-bennu is certainly not the same name as

Pa-bennu, at the most only a paraphrase which indeed is possible, but not necessary, and can therefore give no proof; and secondly, should the two names mean actually the same town, they need not have had the same meaning. Delieve, "the town of the Phœnicians," not "the town of the phœnix bird," because no bird is employed as the determinative. But later, namely under the Ptolemies, as no one any longer remembered the Phænicians of this district, it is possible that the name Pa-bennu, "the town of the Phœnicians," should become transformed to Ha-bennu, "town of the phænix bird;" and this the more easily from the reason that the people and the bird bennu or "phœnix" both came from the East, and probably on account of the similarity of the name, either stood in connexion with one another, or may have been thought to do so. The same is the case with the name Ta-benne; it has been translated "Phœnix Island," while its original meaning may be "the island," just as well as "the land of the Phœnicians." Moreover, the weak and few traces of a phœnix cultus, which Brugsch believes he has found in these districts, are in my opinion certainly not in the way of the theory that the supposed local names take their rise from a stay of the Phœnicians in and about Coptos.

\* "Dict. Geog.," p. 193.

But if I here take bennu as meaning Phœnicians, it appears as if I were in conflict with a theory that I wish to make of equal value, viz., that the inscriptions in Egyptian, so often name the land Pun, which was situated on both sides of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, was originally of Phœnician or "Punic" possession, whence the Phœnicians originally came, and whence they have their name. But as the Phœnicians and the people of Pun are originally the same name, bennu and pun can very well and still more easily be identical.

The Egyptians write the name pun a way of writing in which, as is not improbable, an Egyptian popular etymology has manifested itself: for is the masculine article; and then means either "to be," or with which as the determinative, "to open," "opening," "gate." If we take the last meaning, while we consider that which has fallen away from the following half, so we obtain for the meaning "the land of the gate," a name which answers very well for the land on both sides of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The Arabs have expressed the same thought in their name, since Bab in Arabic is "gate."

Probably the objection may be made to this theory, that in the times when the form 🛮 🟯 立 appeared for the first time—so far as I know, in the XIth Dynasty—the masculine article 
was not yet But as it does not occur indeed in the oldest inscriptions, it is not yet by any means proved when it at first began to appear, so that from this fact no proof can be deduced. That a may appear more wonderful which is placed at the end of the name; it cannot be radical; and the affixing of the feminine a to a word which through the prefixed article p is intended to be masculine. must appear illogical; but there are to be found several examples of such grammatical varieties. On this matter I will only refer to Erman, on "Plural of the Egyptians," S. 13, § 13, Bennu, means I take it, the Phænicians; it occurs, as we have seen, on a monument of the VIth Dynasty, of the same age; the supposed local names in question probably were written at the same time. The name E pun-t, which probably means the land (the original land) of the Phœnicians, "the Puners," comes from the same root, it occurs, as far as I know, for the first time in the XIth Dynasty, and its aberrant form has probably its basis in the Egyptian popular etymology.

DEAR SIR,

June, 1882.

A few words upon the Akkadian numerals, of which, however, very little is known, may prove to be of interest. In determining these our chief authorities are the bi-lingual lists and syllabaries, and scanty as their information is, a great deal may nevertheless be ascertained. In the following list all, with the exception of the word for "four," are quite certain:—

Y, -	<b>-,</b> c	r 🛌	gê and - as	" one."
**			mina,	"two."
m	or	ETK	peš,	" three."
##	or	Ψ	tagtag,	" four."
W			â	" five."
₩			<b>å</b> s	" six."

From these it is also possible to arrive at other facts:—

- I. The original form of "one" was, most likely, gis in Akkadian, and dis in Sumerian. The latter form is implied by the use of the sign [15],\* which has the value of dis or das, to express (with the addition of the adverbial suffix ) the Assyrian word illenis (for istenis), + meaning "altogether," "all at once." I has also the value of dis besides that of gê.
- 2. The value of *mina* for "two" is implied in the syllabaries, where, when the writer wishes to say "twice," he writes either  $(2-na\cdot bi)$  or  $(2-na\cdot bi)$  o
  - \* See Delitzch's "Lesestücke," p. 74, rev., l. 5 and 6.
- † See my remarks upon "the Consonants S, R, and L in Assyrian," Proceedings for April 5th, 1881, p. 82.
- ‡ It is not unlikely that we have in these two forms *mina* and *mana*, the Akkadian money-weights *mana* and *manē* (see Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VI, Part 2, p. 488, in the transcription of the tablet S. + 906, lines 1 and 5), but it is not easy to trace the derivation. A very probable explanation, however, is, that the Akkadians, besides reckoning by sixes, reckoned also by threes, as is shown by the most common arrangement of the wedges expressing the numerals, and that therefore the *mana* (60 shekels) was so called because it meant *twice* thirty shekels. It is not impossible that the *manē* is derived from the form *mina*, and if so, its value was most likely † that of the *mana*.

- 3. The word pes, meaning "three," is given in the syllabary S.c, l. 124, where the character FW, having that pronunciation, is translated by šalalti (for šalašti), "three." See also the list quoted above (W.A.I., II, pl. 39), where (Y-FY FW Sa-mu-ni-gu-pes (literally, "say to him thrice") is rendered in Assyrian by šulliš-šumma, "make three (imperative of šalāšu) to him." A weakened form of this root, namely es (see below), seems to have been used to express the numeral 180.
- 4. The word for "four," as above remarked, is thought to be *tattab* or *tattab*, the word for "two" twice. The character  $\Psi$  implies that there was also another word *sa* or *san*, but the existence of this is doubtful, as the Babylonian form of this character ( $\Psi$ , having also the value of *sa* or *san*) is used to express the numeral "three."  $\dagger$
- 5. The word for "five," &, is well established, and is evidently the same as the word for "hand," "fist," or "horn," expressed by the
  - \* See Haupt, "Der Keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht," p. 27.
- † M. Lenormant, in his book "La Langue primitive de la Chaldée," p. 154, gives san as the pronunciation of \(\psi\), "four." This is, indeed, what we should expect, on account of the word sanabi, "forty," but the phonetic complements found with the numeral \(\subset\) do not favour this pronunciation. An argument in favour of the pronunciation san is the passage from W.A.I. III, pl. 59, quoted on p. 115, where \(\psi\) where \(\psi\) has the phonetic ending na, with the meaning of "to gather."

sign [A], to which the bilingual lists give the gloss a. (See W.A.I., II, pl. 24, l. 30.)\*

6. The &s, used to express the number "six," is, it will be noticed, the same as one form of the numeral for "one." This word is probably formed, however, by combining the two numerals "five," &, and "one," &s, so that the distinction was made by pronouncing the vowel long.

"Twenty" (see above) was probably expressed by man. The word for thirty was, most likely, šepu, and forty is expressed by the word šanabi. (See W.A.I. II, pl. 55, line 51 and 52.†)

The word for "sixty" is sus (in Sumerian mus). The word  $(\langle \cdot \rangle)$  pronounced  $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{s}ana$ , probably expresses the numeral 200,  $(=3\times60+20)$ , the syllable  $\bar{e}\bar{s}$  belonging to (), and  $\bar{s}ana$  to (). The sexagesimal system seems to have been adhered to rigidly, so that we have, for 210, the form () ()  $(=3\times60+30)$ , the pronunciation of which, being in accordance with the system, is given as  $\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{s}epu$ , a form exactly analogous with  $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{s}ana$ , given above. It is evidently only in consequence of the coincidence of sound that the characters () () were taken to express one of the Akkadian words for "king," also pronounced  $\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{s}epu$ ,  $\bar{i}$  being written for  $\bar{e}$ .

The only other numerals known are the  $n\bar{e}r$ , 600; the sar, 3,600; and the fractional numbers Y, sussana, "one-third"; Y, sanabi (Ass.  $s\bar{s}inipu$ , fem.  $s\bar{s}inipatu$ ), "two-thirds"; and Y, kingusili or kingusila (Ass. parap), "five-sixths."

From the sign  $\succeq$ , which is composed of two single strokes, and to which was evidently given the idea of collecting, was formed the sign  $\preceq$ , used in summations with the meaning of *napharis*, "altogether," see S. 155 (Delitzsch's Lesestucke, 65), and seems to have kept its pronunciation (tab) in Akkadian. Napharu or napharis could also be expressed by  $\Longrightarrow$ . From this sign  $\succeq$ , or rather its modification  $\preceq$ , with the prefix for "man" ( $\vDash$ 

<sup>\*</sup> The group and gloss in the next line of this text (to be read aste) imply, if each character of the gloss refer to each of the principal characters respectively, that the unweakened value of the character is as. Its connection with — as, "one," will, therefore, be easily seen, and is, of course, to be traced to the fist, taken as a whole, and the five fingers, taken separately.

<sup>†</sup> Read, in each line, \infty instead of \infty, and, in l. 51, \(\delta\) anabaku, instead of \(\delta\) ananabaku, as the gloss.

sign for "brother," E (literally "fereman," "companion-man"), and from the idea of a brother as a guardian came the meaning of "to protect," which was attached to both E and . As an example of a similarly contracted character may be noted the group , which is to be found (see W.A.I., IV, 30, No. 1, obv., l. 20) in the form .\*

With regard to the list quoted above by Prof. Sayce (W.A.I., V, 12, 30-36), my restoration of the first three lines would be as follows:—

[(本]	777	-11%	<b>₹</b>	以可以可以
[三十二]	<b>~≥</b> Y	三十三	<b>≠///</b> *	以下三个
[二]	ĕ₩	可立立	My EM	三十四日の三十
Transcription.				

	· I	a - šu - uš - tum am - ta - ši	" fixture." " addition (?)."
[ša-dub-ba]-ta	ša - gug - ga - ta	iš-tu [am-ta-ši]	" in addition."

Asustum comes, of course, from the root asasu, a common Assyrian rendering of the Akk. The sir, and the Sum. My dir, and has evidently the meaning—not of "to take root in," but "to cling to,'†' and asustum must here mean something like "addition." As the following word should have a meaning closely akin to asustum, the most probable meaning is "addition," not "subtraction," and refers to the list of numerals which follow. Two passages may

<sup>\*</sup> It must be noted that the above forms of the numerals belong to the sexagesimal system, but there seems to have been another group, given by M. Lenormant in his book "La Langue primitive de la Chaldée," which is distinctly decimal. These numerals are, according to the pronunciation there given, id, "one;" kas, "two;" is, "three;" san, "four;" and bar, "five." This word bar means also "half," and expresses the numeral "five" as "half ten."

<sup>†</sup> See W.A.I., IV, pl. 10, rev., l. 3, 4, where the Sum. mundirigga, susu, nammungab, is translated into Assyrian by 488usaku, katmaku, 41 anátal, "I am overshadowed, I am covered, I cannot look forth." Âsasu and 4sastum, the Assyrian words for "bird's-nest," come from the root 4sastu, in the very common meaning of "to fix," and has, therefore, a very close connection with 4sasu, "to cling to."

be quoted in support of this rendering. The first is in W.A I., IV, pl. 7, l. 14, 15, where we have the same root as above, with the elements reversed, and the repeated ( and the reading as follows:—

Akk.: nig-me-gara gi-gime ban-tul guša-anšaša; Ass.: kūlu kūru kima subāti iktum-šu-ma itanāšaš-šu, "the evil voice like a cloak covers him and keeps clinging to him." Here itanāšaš is evidently the pres. itanaphal of āšāšu.

The second passage is from W.A.I., III, pl. 59, No. 8 (an astrological text). In the original it reads, Y AH FMY FMY -to the glosses, Urpatu sâmu\* ina šamê ittanašî, šâru itbâ, "(If) a dark cloud gather in the heavens, wind comes." Here the reduplicate ideograph \( \mathbf{Y} \) \( \mathbf{y} \) \( \mathbf{sasa} \), is evidently a variant of the sign \( \mathbf{E} \) \( \mathbf{y} \) \( \mathbf{sa} \). FI - I - I sa-gugga therefore means literally "to say a putting together," and amtaši is a noun expressing this idea. The oblique case amtaši, instead of amtašu, † is caused (by attraction), in consequence of the presence of the preposition with the oblique case in the next line. The restoration of the Sumerian column EY sibba (Prof. Sayce's reading), is based upon the fact that > has the values of gu(g) (see W.A.I., V, plate 17, line 39c) and du(b), 1the Akkadian and Sumerian pronunciation respectively, according to the laws of change of consonants in those dialects, and there is no need to suppose that du is the Akkadian form, and to make from that a Sumerian form siba, for this would clash with the well-known word siba, meaning "good." In the next line Professor Sayce is right, inasmuch as he restores there the word amtaši. This, however, was not expressed by inserting the sign \( \bar{\psi} \),

<sup>\*</sup> Not siamu. This text, with its glosses, is altogether given very badly in the lithographed plate.

<sup>†</sup> The root of this word seems to be mast, and if so, we have an interesting form with inserted t and prosthetic a. The meaning of the root really seems to be "to draw out," in the sense of "to prolong," and may therefore be connected with the Heb. TYP. Compare W.A.I., II, pl. 16, lines 7 and 8, where Tila &A DUBBA-ta udda angamea is translated in Assyrian by Bulut &am&d[ti] &me u-\* "A life of extension (of) days he promised (?)." The non-Semitic part of this paragraph is dialectic.

<sup>‡</sup> At the time of writing this I had not noticed the passage quoted in the above note (†).

The following is the most common system of numeration (see my "Texts," Sign-list, p. v).

In the above the three-system will be easily seen.

Since the writing of the above, there has arrived at the British Museum a small fragment of a syllabary from Babylon. Notwith-standing the mutilation of this text, we get from it some very important information concerning the Akkadian numerals from "ten" to "fifty." Their names, according to the list there given, are as follows:

The differing forms were probably all in use at the same time.

Yours faithfully,
Theo. G. Pinches.

[1882.

Sir.

Berlin, W. Hitzigstr, 7, 8th July, 1882.

I beg to address to you a few lines relating to the so-called Cappadocian Cuneiform Inscription published in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology," XIIth Session, 1st November, 1881, page 16, and I shall be particularly obliged to you if you will be so kind as to lay them before the Society.

In reading the conjecture of Mr. Pinches, that kutin means mule (Proceedings, 1st Nov., 1881, p. 15), I could not help thinking that kutin is identical with the Aramaic אינוים (Arab. בּרְרַבִּיץ) (Arab. בּרְרַבִּיץ) This word (like מֹבֶּר horse) seems to be of non-Semitic origin, and kutin may be its Cappadocian (?) prototype.

Regarding the change of d and t, one might compare the Syriac name of Cappadocia Logan Kapadûkâ, which the eastern Syrians pronounced Kappatûkâ (or Kappatôkâ), so as to remind one of the Assyrian form Katpatuka. Cf. Œuvres grammaticales d'Aboulfaradj dit Barhebraeus, ed. Martin I, p. 208, l. 15, 16. There is, however, no necessity for comparisons, for the word kutin exists in this very identical form in the Aramaeo-Pahlavî kûtîn-â = mule, v. Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, ed. Destur Hoshangji, p. 143.

Another observation refers to the city Isana, occurring in the Assyrian inscription published in the Proceedings, 1st Nov., 1881 p. 14, l. 31. Isana may be identical with Isan (Tell Isan, Isan Köi), a tell and village to the right of the road from Aleppo to Bîredjik, in the plain between Sâdjûr and Kerzîn, 45' north of Zembûr.

I have the honor, Sir, to be, yours very faithfully, PROF. EDWARD SACHAU.

## THE COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BENI-HASSAN AND DEIR-EL-MEDINEH.

The tombs of Beni-Hassan, as is well known, were occupied in the Christian period of Egyptian history by monks and ecclesiastics, one of them even being turned into a school-room. Evidences of the occupation are to be seen in the numerous Coptic graffiti scrawled over the walls. A few of these have been published; the Denkmäler of Lepsius, for example, contain the alphabet which adorns the wall of the Coptic school-room. But there are many which have not hitherto been given to the world; and as they are rapidly perishing, like the more valuable paintings and hieroglyphics underneath them, I copied all that are still legible during my visit to

Beni-Hassan in December, 1881. One of my companions, Mr. Tristram Ellis, painted a number at the entrance of each tomb, so that travellers and Egyptologists will no longer have any difficulty in indicating or recognizing any tomb they wish. The numbers therefore which head my copies of the inscriptions are those of the tombs to which they severally belong. As the alphabet alluded to above has been very faithfully reproduced in the great work of Lepsius, I have not thought fit to publish it here. Otherwise the collection of inscriptions given in this Paper contains all that are still able to be read. It will be seen that they are found only in tombs 13, 15, 21, and 24. Some of those in No. 15 are published in Champollien's Monuments de l'Égypte (edited by Maspero), II, p. 384.

No. 13.
On the left hand door-post.
ANANANNOTTO

No. 15.

(1)

апапа(п) ноттепатизацей а

апагеленнапавева Антрев пфідеппов (2)

апапаноттепатьсацею апаселеннапавею антребифілеппос

(3)

вишх фінеас Заишс обнетшна Такшв **вег**апаносте

(4)

потиниа? иотс..т тоганинс апапфівафипатлос

аврагаих тсаку таков і панотп : тоснф і патлос антреб Патлос

ПАПФІВАСОН ПАПНЭПАТАВПАХОВІС АТСОПАНОТТВТОГАННІС

118

(5) ишев (а)папанотт(в) папатиг (6) ише пичктишельния BSWH BWI фінвас **Maria** unuo (8) (10) папа хиг апаврарн**ш** карши апавшр ns uwrbhb): ethborb (т)шуанинс пыщеимун (9) (11) пата виід папала nxoetc пиоте... (12) (13)nezoetú na вишх иинфрв (14)(15)обнетших заишбтайтик απολλω ерепиотте6<sup>т</sup>нерок апапатало nxoeté **Ж**паөтоті IORBTOKAATOTAHAYOI Озанинь апагшрь ньв ваотавававар х̄иг TWISANHO No. 21.

(1) (2) Апансак пірви Д пшоі антреас Пвнэви Д 119 No. 24. (i)

💥 тнро 💥

ангезт шаншь штершт

пхото паноттва роротса : оранпховто

ZZZ AZ ZZTZZZZAZZOUNZ6ZZZZZGł6 **АВ**₩ЖПӨИ**Ж**ТИОЖТ

ANKOY (TTHANA...OYEII....OY...O....OETO

(2) probably a continuation of (1)

, в<mark>т</mark>

№ Дан

(3)

пвида ив‱ш

**Жаниа Тв. Тно ин 6** 

**авраган** Жөнап Жайк

(5)

(6) πλχύτού Папаноттв ишг(в)аврагаи-гоак ( такш) втшв 🎇 вб иар(ко)от шеаиино AANTHA (ANA) NTAG итбана‱‱ п ‱б

(8) East Wall.

nevol rogme пиот: тв: ила

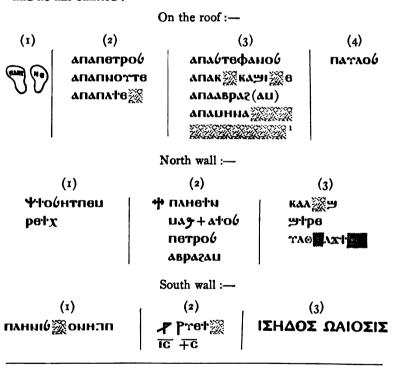
патип ※твенан Р **ж**+‱пеки6

120

Outside the entrance to No. 17, on the left-hand door-post, I found the following Greek graffito: COCTPATOY; and outside the left-hand door-jamb of No. 32:—

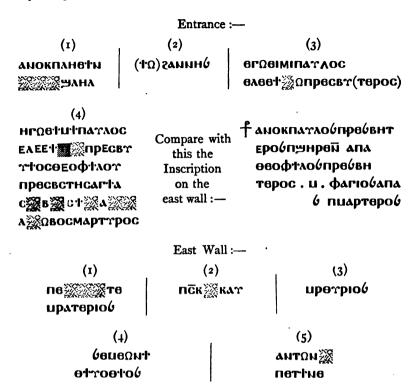
## Π**A**MMENHC · Π**A**MMENOY HKΩ H�Γ**A**YNI K. Above was AIKΛ.....ΠΛ...

Lepsius has published all the Coptic inscriptions at Deir el-Medineh (Thebes) with the exception of the following, which I find he has omitted:—



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mênas has also left his name at Medinet Abu, where Dr. Wiedemann copied the three following *graffiti*, painted in red near the right-hand chamber of the building:—

- (1) ОАГІОЎАПА ИННАС
- (2) ОТАГІОС Шенас
- (3) ОТАГІОС АПАЦН(NAC)



The numerous Coptic graffiti at Deir el-Bahâri well deserve to be copied. Among the Greek ones I found two which are curious:—

## AMMUNIOC NEIDEUC KPOKODEIDOC, and NIKATIOC KIDIOPOY.

I may add here some Coptic inscriptions I copied on the roof of the temple of Hadrian, three or four miles to the south of Medinet-Abu, now known among the natives as the Deir el-Giblî. The temple is in a good state of preservation, though turned into a cowhouse.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
іс хс Аврагаи	`NOYTE	ПМЕВЧІР	Π <b>ΙΙ</b> ΩΧ <b>ΙΙΙ</b> ΠΥ <b>:Ο</b> ΥΘ
		122	

By way of conclusion I append some of the Greek graffiti I obtained in the tombs of Tel el-Amarna. Among them was a Phænician inscription, unfortunately so much obliterated by later Greek scrawls that the only characters legible were > 5. The Greek graffiti are as follows:—

(1) ANAPONIKOC	(2) MNHCIΘEOC ΔΩΡΙΕΩC	(3) NIKOMAXOC CANNOC
(4) CΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ   NIKIO(Y)	(5) ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΌ ΕΛΟΩ	(6) N EPMAIOC
(7) <b>MAAEA</b>	(8) KABAAOKOC	(9) APICTΩNYMOC
(10) <b>HPAKAIĄC</b>	(11) <b>ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΟ</b> C	(12) IAIOCIC
(13) APC HC 0	(14) HIAOMAKIF	ПАТРОС

The following is a mixture of Greek and Karian, though the Karian must be of much earlier date than the Greek:—

# ※ΠΟΝΑΜΑΙΟC ΜΟΛΤΟC ♦ΙΛΙΝΟΥ ΥΛ▶ ΑΦΨΥΠΧΟ※ΨΙΚΜΔΑΙCΧΡΙΩΝ※ΛΕΕΥΘΡΑΙΞ

According to Hêrodotos (III, 26) the greater Oasis of El Khargeh, from six to seven and a half days' distance from Thebes, was occupied by Samians of the Aiskhriônian tribe.

A. H. SAYCE.

The following communication on Lake Moeris, and his recent explorations in the Desert near the Fayoum, by F. Cope Whitehouse, has been received:—

A critical examination of the texts of the ancient authors shows a substantial accord in the situation, magnitude, depth, circumference, and purpose of the Lake of Moeris. There are insuperable difficulties in plotting such a lake on even the latest maps of Egypt (1).\* The basin of the Fayoum (2) is too small, and its general direction is from east to west (3). The levels estimated by Jomard (4) (1800), measured (?) by M. Linant de Bellefonds (5) (1842), and approved by Dr. Lepsius (6) (1859), put its maximum depth at seventy-five feet below Beni-suef (7). The conditions imposed being therefore regarded in their entirety as out of the question (8), five theories have been successively advanced. Paul Lucas (1707) identified Moeris with the Birket-el-Qerun, as the Lacus Meridis of the maps of Cl. Ptolemy (9). D'Anville (1765) abandoning the alleged depth of 250-300 feet, invented the Bathen, corresponding to the Cocheiche and other basins formed during high Nile (10). Jomard (1800) reverted to the Birket-el-Oerun, which he thought had been 18 or 20 feet deeper and thus (!) filled the lowest plateau. Sir G. Wilkinson believed that Herodotus confounded the Lake Moeris with the canal which conducted the water from the Nile to the Birket-el-Oerun.



In 1842 Linant Bey showed, on what were believed to be indisputable grounds, that the lake was situated on the easternmost and highest part of the Oasis, from which it was separated by a dyke 22-30 feet high. In accordance with his researches, it was of much smaller extent than was formerly supposed, and the 450 miles which Herodotus, Diodorus, and Mutianus mention as its circumference, might, with tolerable accuracy, be reduced to one-tenth, or 45 miles. Its bed measured about 63 square miles in area. It was emptied

<sup>\*</sup> These numbers refer to the notes at the end of the Paper,

annually, and has long since dried up. Its site can now scarcely be discovered by the aid of a strong imagination (13).

This opinion was universally adopted by the scientific and literary world (14), and is still the only current view (15).

In 1872-73 Linant Bey, however, had admitted a fatal error (16) in his alleged measurements (17). In 1880 a section was published by Dr. Schweinfurth (who however still accepted the theory of M. Linant), based upon a careful survey in 1871 by the present Director-General of Public Works. The bottom of the Fayoum is there determined to be about 170 feet below the Mediterranean (19), and 260 feet below high Nile at El-Lahun.

Although not aware of the existence of this survey of Rousseau Bey, I was satisfied in November, 1881, that the difficulty lay in the errors of the modern maps. Otherwise it constituted a grave infraction upon the veracity of persons of unimpeachable integrity, imputing to them a reckless disregard of truth, and a gross ignorance of the most obvious facts, prolonged and repeated during the entire thousand years of ancient Greco-Roman history (20).

It was a question where a lack of intimate acquaintance with the locality would easily conduce to error. No amount of erudition or exercise of the scientific imagination, could dispense with the correct physical conditions of the place. But, on the other hand, it was indispensable to analyse the various accounts and combine them into a simple statement of coherent facts, so that the search might be prosecuted with a lucid idea of the object sought.

Far from conceding that "Herodotus did not judge from his own observation, but mistook the facts detailed to him by his Egyptian informants" (21); that Diodorus, after the lapse of four centuries, borrowed (22) these palpable blunders of an Ionian, to incorporate into a new account for the enlightened society of Sicily; that Strabo, well fitted by birth and education to estimate justly human achievements, and too accurate to care to repeat figures which he could not verify, had been betrayed without any apparent motive into the use of the most exaggerated terms (23); that Pliny, who agreed in thinking the Labyrinth still "the most stupendous result of human labour," and unsurpassed by the Golden Palace of Nero, should have described a plain (campus) as "a great fosse," and a varying depth not exceeding 25 feet, as 250 feet, or cited the Prefect of Rome as

his authority that a dyke of 20 miles and a road of 35 miles, which they both may have traversed scores of times on their visits to baths, temples, and garrisons, were 450 miles long; that Ptolemy, a geographer, making maps and selling them in Alexandria, would dare to furnish Hadrian with an idle tale with which hungry Greeklings had gratified their love of the marvellous six hundred years previously; that Ælius Aristides, who had examined the Nile Valley "four times," "neglecting nothing" (25), "buying all the books," or "making his own measurements," should have, in deference to the 'rather clever fellow' whom he was opposing, put the Lake of Moeris, though a very commonplace pool, before Mareotis and Serbonis; or that as late as the sixth century, Crocodilopolis should be said to be in the Lake of Moeris, because a Byzantine lexicographer believed that the Court of Justinian was more familiar with the "Euterpe" than with hundreds of later works or the contemporary geography of Egypt: the consensus of evidence seemed to be of the strongest conceivable character.

It was therefore a foregone conclusion that between the parallels of Gizeh and Behnesa, the Nile and the 'Bahr Bela-Ma,' there had been an artificial lake, ranked by competent observers as the greatest work of man, and as an incredible result of patient labour, engineering skill, and political sagacity. The weight of evidence was in its favour. The 'onus' lay on the complainants to justify their charges of plagiarism, falsehood, and blind credulity. I revisited Egypt, however, without any bias as to detail. It was necessary not only to examine the unexplored desert, but to determine the age of the remains in the Fayoum, pottery, mummies, temples, and pyramids, and so dispose of the otherwise fatal objection that this basin had been, even in the time of 'Menes,' the fertile Crocodilopolite nome.

Between lat. 30° 12′, and the Wadi Reian, no important place was left unvisited. From Abu-Roash and Gizeh across the Kom El-Kashab into the Wadi Fadhi, and east to Sakkara; from Medinet to Tamieh and Kafr Amār; from el-Adwéh across el-Bats and el-Wardan, northward under and on the eastern hills to the extreme edge of the hollow (8 m. N. of Tamieh), westward to Junker's track; on the lake, its islands, and at Dimêh; Bihamu, Ssenūres, and Abuksa; along the old dyke from Sirbe to Schedmūeh; from Atsa, el-Minyah and Abu-Gandir to Nezleh, Qasr Qerūn, and the Heram; from Medinet to Gharaq, the Wadi Reian, Tutun, Ambēsche (the

monastery), and Hauwareh; from Medinet to el-Lahūn and Hauwareh el-Kēbir; although often alone with Arab servants or native gentlemen, I was also aided by experienced engineers, Austrian, English, and Prussian.

These researches, supported by a vast body of proof, and the opinions of countless experts consulted by me, eminent for Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, and Arabic erudition, in art and literature, in local tradition, history, and personal acquaintance with the country, enable me to state with reasonable confidence certain conclusions (26).

The accounts of the ancient authors, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mutianus, and Pliny, confirmed by Ælius Aristides, Stephen of Byzantium, and the text and maps of Ptolemy, conclusively prove that, from a very early period in Egyptian history, down to a time antecedent to the Arab invasion, a large volume of Nile water was diverted into a part of the Libyan desert north of 29° 42′ N. lat. and west of 31° 5′ E. long., and the lake thus formed was commonly known as the Lake of Moeris.

From before the fifth century B.C. (27), to the early part of the first century A.D., the surface of this lake rose, periodically, during the inundation, above the level of low Nile at Beni-suef, and according to the unimpeached testimony of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pliny, was about 50 fathoms deep in its deepest parts.

The physical conditions of this part of Egypt would permit the formation of a reservoir of Nile water, fulfilling all the requirements in depth of the several accounts of the ancient historians.

The exploration of the desert to the south of Qasr-Qerun; with the theodolite observations and photographs by Mr. Petrie in a subsequent expedition to the W.S.W. of Gharaq, confirmed by the general statements of Calliaud (28), Belzoni (29), and Mason Bey, and the aneroid observations of Dr. Ascherson (30), in 1876, show that there is also a depression in the desert between the Wady Moïeh and the Fayoum of not less than 200 feet below Beni-suef.

It is to this feature that attention is especially directed. It is not correct that the Birket-el-Qerun had always been believed to be identical with Lake Moeris. The Ptolemaic maps place it to the south of Bacchis (Kom Uashim (?)) and the latitude of Arsinöe. The text gives a difference of 20 seconds of latitude between the town which must have been in the Fayoum and "circa Meridis paludem" (31).

The entire depression in its several basins (32) bears visible traces of having been filled with water, not in a geological era, but within a relatively recent if not historical period (33). Nearly horizontal strata of limestone (34) have been removed by erosion (35). The only agent available would be that branch of the Nile which is now known as the Bahr-Jusuf (36).

A lake so formed would, probably, have a shore of between 300 and 500 miles long, with steep promontories and sandy bays, resembling the sea coast. It would contain islands from 150 to 250 feet high (37), hold a large part of the surplus water of the inundation, be blue in colour and prolific in fish, discharge at low Nile into the valley by the canal by which it was fed; lose a considerable volume by percolation, especially to the north and west (38), as well as by evaporation, which would aid in the cultivation of the hills to the east.

The general direction of such a lake would be from north to south.

In the absence of any proof that this part of Egypt was inhabited prior to the Ptolemies, or that any Greco-Roman remains earlier than A.D. 40 have been found below the first plateau (39), there is no sufficient reason to doubt that at an early period, and prior to the first Olympiad, this depression was filled with water, and has ever since continued to receive an annual supply. It is probable that in the time of Herodotus the lake extended to the foot of the Sedment range; in the time of Strabo had been excluded from parts of the upper plateau by dykes (40), which can still be traced; in the time of Pliny never rose as high as the Nile valley; in the time of Cl. Ptolemy had been chiefly restricted to the southern basin (41); at the time of the Arab conquest, received little more than sufficient for the purposes of irrigation (42). It would seem that in the fifteenth century (43) the southern or Gharaq basin received more water than the northern or Fayoum; but their relative importance has steadily changed, and the Birket-el-Qerun increases annually, while the Gharaq basin has virtually disappeared.

#### Notes.

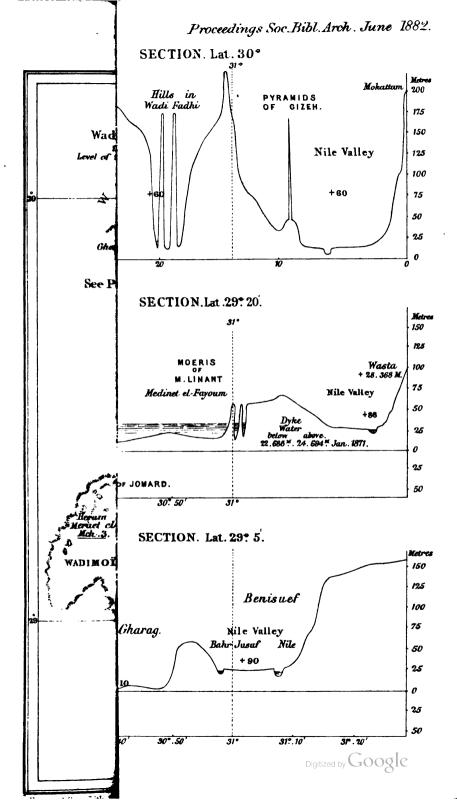
- (1). "The map of the French Expedition (1809) displaced all previous maps of Egypt. It marks unbroken desert where your recent explorations show the deep hollow of the Wady Moïeh." (C. H. Coote, Brit. Mus., July 20th.) See, e.g., Cours du Nil, Fevrier, 1738, Norden.
- (2). Fayoum, not Fayūm, is the official equivalent of الفيوم. Elsewhere I have followed the spelling of Dr. Schweinfurth.
- (3). Denkmäler aus Ægypten. 1859. Abth. I, Bl. 3. Zeitschrift der Ges. f. Erdkunde. 1880. Bd. XV, Taf. 1. Petermann's Geogr. Mitth. 1880. Taf. 9. But see Phys. Geogr. d. Lib. Wüste. Bd. II. Jordan, Cassel, 1876.
  - (4). Description de l'Egypte. E. M. VI, p. 175, ed. 1830.
- (5). (Measured (?) by M. L. de B., 1842.) "Lorsque j'ai fait faire des nivellements." Mémoires sur les Principaux Travaux, &c. Paris, 1872-73, p. 64. But see "Es scheint, dass Linant-Pascha im Jahre 1840, u.s.w." "In dem Werke über die ägyptischen Bauten thut Linant-Pascha nur an einer einzigen Stelle eines solchen Nivellements Erwähnung, und zwar ganz nebensächlich in einem Zwischensatze." G. Schweinfurth, Bemerk. Zeit. d. G. f. E., B. XV, H. 2, p. 152, 1880.
  - (6). Denkmäler, A. I., B. 3.
- (7). "The present level is nearly the same with that of the Mediterranean."—Smith's Dict., s. v. Moeris.
- (8). "Ce qu' Hérodote et Diodore de Sicile ont écrit sur l'etendue du lac Mœris est hors de vraisemblance, si par là manière de l'entendre, on ne la rend vraisemblable." M. Jomard, Mémoires, etc., VI, p. 149, ed. 1830.
- (9). Voyage, &c., Paris, 1712, 12mo.; and Voyage en 1714, Paris, 1731, 12mo.
  - (10). "Egypte," par le St d'Anville (map), 1765.
  - (11). Description de l'Egypte, Vol. VI, p. 166.
- (12). Ancient Egyptians, II, p. 124; Egypt and Thebes, p. 358, but see Rawlinson's Her., II, 148, Vol. II, p. 226, note.
- (13). Mémoire sur le lac Moeris, presenté et lu à la société Egyptienne, le 3 Juillet, 1842. Alexandrie, 1843. "En plaçant le lac ou réservoir de Moeris dans la partie la plus elevée du Fayoum . . . il était possible d'avoir une hauteur d'eau de plus de sept mètres audessous du point du deversoir à Awarat el-Macta. Le mémoire,

publié par Mr. Linant sur le lac Moeris, donne tous les éclaircissements desirables sur ce point de l'histoire ancienne de l'Egypte." Carte Hydrographique de la moyenne Egypte, par M. Linant de Bellefonds. Paris, 1854, D.

- (14). Rawlinson's Egypt, II, 161, 162, n., 1880. See passim, e.g., the works of Brugsch, Bunsen, Lepsius, Mariette, Maspero, and Wilkinson, and recent maps. But see letter of Dr. Birch, infra.
- (15). See e.g., Encyc. Brit., 'Egypt,' 1877; Baedeker's Egypt (Germ. Ed., 1877), Fng. Ed., 1878, pp. 451, 452; Isambert, Orient, etc. p. 447, 1878; Murray's Egypt, II, p. 380, 1880. "The Land of Khemmi," 1882. [But "I must write a line to congratulate you on the success of your labours. I, of course, took Linant's theory for granted."—L. Oliphant, Const., July 11th, 1882.]
- (16). Mémoires sur les Principaux Travaux d'utilité publique. exécutés en Egypte, accompagné d'un Atlas par Linant de Bellefonds Bey, Paris, 1872-73. Arthus Bertrand Editeur, 21, Rue Hautefeuille. Compare "Hérodote donne au lac une profondeur de cinquante orgies, ce qui fait environ quatre-vingt douze mètres. Or, depuis les terrains de la province de Benisouef, à l'entrée du Fayoum, jusqu'au fond du lac Keïroun, il n'y a que vingt-sept mètres [27<sup>m</sup>. = 88 feet] de difference de niveau. Le lac ne pouvant DONC pas avoir cette profondeur indiquée par Hérodote, c'est probablement une erreur ou de mesure, ou d'unité de mesure, ou enfin de renseignements," 1842, p. 12; but "Depuis la gorge d'Illaoun et le seuil du Bahr Joussef à Awarat el-Macta, jusqu'à la surface du lac, comme l'a vu M. Iomard. et comme cela existait encore lorsque j'ai fait faire des nivellements (1), il y a 61m. 80 [200 feet]. En mettant la profondeur des eaux du lac à 20m. 20, CE SERAIT la mesure qu' Hérodote donne au lac," 1872-73. p. 64.
- (17). The Atlas is well-known, but its results appeared for the first time in English, in the Land of Khemni. The mémoire is never quoted. It was unknown to, e.g., Encyc. Brit. (R.S.P.), 1875, and M. Isambert, Itineraire, v. 2, 1878, where the mémoire of 1843 is expressly cited as the latest exponent of M. Linant's view. It reflects no discredit upon these authors. The title of the work is misleading. The article has this prefatory note (p. 47): "En 1843, la Société Egyptienne du Caire publia mon mémoire sur le lac Moeris, à 400 exemplaires, qui furent addressés, en grande partie aux Sociétés savantes européennes. Le mémoire que je donne ici, est donc une seconde

- edition, revue et augmentée, du premier." There is no hint of mistake or list of errors. The corrections are furtive, and scarcely, as the result has shown, received the publicity which might otherwise have attached to the words of "une des gloires de l'Egypte moderne." It might have further modified the opinion that "to M. Linant certainly is due the merit of having settled a controversy of no little importance, and the Egyptian Society of Cairo deserves our thanks for the publication of his most interesting memoir." (Encyc. Brit., 1855 and 1877.)
- (18). Bemerkungen zu der neuen Karte des Fayūm, von G. Schweinfurth. Zeit der Ges. f. Erdk. Berlin, 1880. B. XV., p. 152, and map. Taf. 1. The text is worthy of the author. The map is excellent for the cultivated land and the Nile Valley. A tracing of the original map  $\frac{1}{40000}$  I owe, with other favours, to the courtesy of Rousseau Bey. The profile (No. 2), with some facts added from the original field books of M. Julliot, now engineer of the Daireh Saniéh, is appended. He confirmed its accuracy. But a new map with a triangulation by a most able engineer, M. Stadler, under the skilful direction of Mason Bey, chief of the Cadastre in the Fayoum, an experienced African explorer, was (May, 1882) in course of preparation.
- (19). The height of Wasta above the Mediterranean is probably correct to within a few feet. But see "Cairo, Hochwasser Nils, 18<sup>m</sup>. über dem Meer. Niederwasser, 11<sup>m</sup>. über d. M." Phys. Geog. u. Meteor, der Lib. Wüste, bearbeitet von Dr. W. Jordan, Cassel, 1876, B. 2, pp. 178–204.
- (20). Herodotus II, 4; 69, 148, 149, 150. Diodorus Siculus I, 51, 52. Strabo I, XVII, §§ 3, 4, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41. Claud. Ptolem. Geog. lib. IV, text. Ed. Wilberg, 1838, p. 279 and maps. Plin. H. N. V. 9, XXXVI, 12. Æl. Aristides, Oxon. 1722, tome II, pp. 350, 351. Steph. Bpz. s. v. Κροκοδείλου πόλιν. For Pomponius Mela see Tzschuckius, p. 340, for reasons why the passage ought not to be cited as an authority (e.g. by Linant, Ebers, etc., passim).
  - (21). Wilkinson, Anc. Egypt, II, 124.
- (22). If such a charge does not refute itself, see variations and new matter added, inter alia, the cost of opening the sluices, £,11,500.
- (23). "Strabon ne donne aucune mesure au lac de Moeris; il se borne à comparer son étendue à cella d'une mer. Quoique cette expression soit exagérée, etc." M. Jomard, Des. VI, 169.

- (24). The Admiral of Vespasian would not have quoted the all-powerful commander-in-chief of the expedition against Vitellius, statesman, orator, and historian, to expose an error; much less to commit a similar blunder. The explanation lies in the word "fuit."
- (25). Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ᾿Αιθιοπικῆς χώρας προελθων, καὶ ἀυτὴν διερευνησάμενος Αἴγυπτον τετράκις τοσύμπαν καὶ παρείς οὐδέν ἀνεξέταστον, οὐ Πυραμίδας, οὐ λαβύρινθον, οὑχ ἰερὸν, οὐ διώρυχας, ἀλλ' ὧν μὲν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις τὰ μέτρα ὑπῆρχεν ἐκειθεν πορισάμενος, ὧν δὲ μὴ ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβειν ἦν ἐκμετρήσας, αὐτὸς μετά τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις ἰερέων καὶ προφήτων. κ.τ.λ. p. 331. Oratio Ægyptiaca. Refutatis aliorum opinionibus de causis Nili crescentis.
- (26). My indebtedness to these gentlemen will be duly acknowledged elsewhere. Dr. Schweinfurth encouraged my researches personally and by letter. "Les recherches sur le Fayoum et les anciennes conditions de ses eaux que vous poursuivez depuis longtemps avec tant de zèle, etc. Comme vous avez constaté dans le sud-ouest hors de cette province une depression pouvant servir comme deversoir pour le trop plein du Bahr-el-Youssouf, il s'agit avant tout d'y faire executer un nivellement." (Cairo, March 8th. 1882.) Lieut.-Gen. Stone Pacha, Chief of the Staff, and President of the Geog. Society of Cairo, warmly seconded my proposal to make a thorough and exhaustive examination of the whole area. Political considerations prevented this. My subsequent expeditions, however, with the assistance of Mr. Tristram Ellis and Mr. Flinders Petrie were sufficiently accurate for the solution of the principal "I know nothing from the studies which I have made which would work against your theory of there having existed in and near the Fayoum such a great basin of Nile water as that described by the ancients. Indeed, I am so far of the contrary opinion, that I shall urge the levelling of the country in the vicinity," etc. Lieut-Gen. Stone Pacha, May 19th, 1882. Wilson Bey, of the Daira Sanieh, and Rousseau Bey, of the 'Public Works,' for their respective departments, were also anxious to "turn such investigations as mine (yours) to practical account, when the country enters upon a new future under more favourable conditions."
- (27). A waste weir was sufficient for the reclamation of the Delta, the lowering of dykes, and the protection of the villages against the inundation. It was, probably, an after thought to extend the indirect benefits from percolation and evaporation, to the direct supply of



pure water to the Nile valley by canal. It seems that the precise date when the encroachments upon the supply and extension of cultivation in the northern basin localised its benefits may be fixed between the visits of Mutianus and Pliny.

- (28). Voyage à Meroe (1819). Paris, 1826.
- (29). Operations, etc. London, 1820. 4to.
- (30). Phys. Geog. Jordan, p. 216. G. Schweinfurth, z.f.E. p. 160.
- (31). This requires more elaborate argument and illustration, but see the folios *passim*, and of Rome, 1478, Venice, 1511, and the text, Wilberg, 1830, pp. 279, 282.
  - (32). εν τοίε πλέιστοις μέρεσιν. Diodorus.
- (33.) See Section of Dr. Schweinfurth, and M. Linant, passim, and p. 67 (1873).
  - (34.) The 'terrains d'alluvion' of M. Linant do not exist.
- (35.) The word "depression" is not therefore correct. It was 'eroded,' as the ancient authors uniformly stated. The  $\chi_0\hat{\nu}$  of Herodotus is the equivalent of "un terrain si peu compacte et aussi friable." L de B. (1873) p. 55.
- (36). Bahr Jusuf, query, of. IDI 'a noun from the fut. Kal of IDI, increaser, Gen. xxx, 24, where the name is interpreted; and see D'Herbelot, s.v. for the traditions. See also the Arab historians. The "canal of Joseph" is a misconception.
- (37). The depth of the lake was 'shown by two pyramids, somewhere near the middle, in its deepest part.' The stones at Bihamu are not pyramids, they stand near the limit of the highest plateau, and may be of Roman date.
- M. Jomard objected that a structure would not prove the depth of an excavation. He failed to consider with the statement of Herodotus the succinct account of Diodorus: 'O δ' οὖν βασιλὲνε ὀρύττων ταύτην κατέλιπεν ἐν μέση τόπον, ἐν ῷ τάφον ὑκοδόμησε καὶ δύο πυραμίδας, τὴν μὲν ἐαυτοῦν τὴν δέ τῆς γυναικός, σταδιαίας τὸ ῦψος. As in the Latomia del Paradiso of Syracuse, in modern French quarries, and in the East, a squared mass of the natural rock was left standing to show the amount of stone removed. As the hollow in this case was filled with water, two piles above marked the depth beneath. Against (ἐπί) them were colossal statues. On the well-established Eastern principle, 'si monumentum quæris,' the king also constructed a tomb in the noble challenge which he offered to all potentates from

133

Sesostris to Hadrian. Νομίζων διὰ τούτων τῶν ἔργον ἀθάνατον ἐαυτῷ καταλέιψειν τὴν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μνήμην. The pyramids of the lower Nile all stood at, in or near 'Meri,' as those of the upper Nile, near the 'island' of Meroë.

The 'Heram' (Pyramid) Merouet-el-Berl is not the site of this tomb and these pyramids. But the name may have been transferred to this bold and conspicuous hill, isolated and streaked with glittering gypsum, from some one of the adjacent mounds to the east. I had left camp and my European servant two hours before day-break. reached it at 1 P.M. The shekh of Nezleh, who lent me his own horse, and his amiable and accomplished son Mustapha Ali who accompanied me to the edge of the desert, exacted a promise that I would not sleep in those dangerous hills. My six Arab hunters had joined me but two days previously, and we could not carry food or water for camel or horse. Under these circumstances my reconnaissance should not deter others from renewing the search for remains which appear to have still existed in the time of Pliny. Calliaud passed to the south. No European had ever before set foot in that weird and fantastic spot, or climbed those hills so strangely worn by water and blown sand. (So Dr. Schweinfurth, March 8th, 1882.)

- (38). By the Wadhi Fadhi, discovered and explored March 21st and 22nd, 1882. "A new and most important contribution to the cartography of Egypt." C. H. Coote, Brit. Mus., July 20th, 1882. See valuable article on Die Behar bela-ma Frage, Rohlfs. Drei Monate in der Lib. Wüste, p. 14, Cassel, 1875. The word Fadhi (cf. فَعُنّى) seems to retain this use.
- (39). M. Maspero told me that he had never seen anything from the Fayoum earlier than Strabo; confirmed by, inter alios, M. Vasalli, Rogers Bey, and M. Guimet. The 'obelisk' at Begig is not in situ. The remains at Hauwarah, depicted with such absurd exaggeration in the Denkmäler aus Egypten, are only mud-brick walls of at least a late Roman period. M. Vasalli believed that the Labyrinth had been destroyed. (Boulak, January, 1882.) M. Mariette declared it still concealed under the mud of the Fayoum. I think it should be looked for elsewhere. But in any event, while the Nile Valley contains its millions of records, and the western end of the Bahr Jusuf is marked by granite blocks and traces of an important temple of the time of Amenemhat III, these monuments of antiquity stop on the

threshold of what has been for the last 1,800 years the fairest province of Egypt.

DEAR MR. WHITEHOUSE,

I need not say how much pleasure your theory of the Lake Moeris has given me, as I never accepted the result of the observations of M. Linant de Bellefonds, and have confined myself to the statements of the classical writers. Future explorations, it appeared to me, could alone settle the question. Your recent investigations of the Wady Fadhi and of the deep basin of the Wady Reian seem to offer the solution of this difficult problem.

It had long struck me that the mass of antiquities obtained by Mr. Greville Chester from the Fayoum were of the Ptolemaic and Roman period of the occupation of Egypt, and consequently that the Fayoum was not inhabited at an earlier period. Even the discovery of a few more ancient monuments at its edge would not militate against that.

Believe me, yours very truly,

S. B. BIRCH.

Brit. Mus., July 26th, 1882.

- (40). This dyke is also the traditional wall of Makrizi.
- (41). Cf. the maps and text.
- (42). The most diligent search and active local enquiry failed to find any Arab tradition, that the Fayoum had been filled with water. The Khedive and his suite, Mahmoud Pasha, Salama Bey, the Mudirs of the Fayoum, the Copt clergy, the learned Shêkh at the Kutubkhāneh, inter multos alios, had never heard or read of it. Per contra. They all said it would be filled at once if the dyke at el-Lahun burst. (See M. Jomard, and M. Linant (1873), p. 54.)
  - (43). See the map of Fra Mauro.
- (44). Cf. the maps of the French Expedition (1809) with those of M. Linant (1854, 1872-73) and Dr. Schweinfurth (1880).

## THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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## CONTENTS.

M. Eugene Révillout. On a Demotic Papyrus contain the Malediction of an Egyptian Mother on her		PAGE
embracing Christianity	•••	46
Remarks by Dr. Birch	•••	5
Remarks by P. le Page Renouf	•••	6
Theo. G. Pinches. Some recent Discoveries bearing the Ancient History and Chronology of Babylonia	•	6—12
Remarks by Dr. Oppert		
P. le Page Renouf. On the Value of the Hieroglyp		
Sign &c., &c		
George Bertin. On the Character and Influence of		
Accent in the Akkadian and Assyrian Words		
Theo. G. Pinches. Introduction, Assyrian Grammar	•••	21—31
Rev. W. H. Sewell. Houses and Householders of Palest	tine	
in the time of Christ		35-37
Remarks by Rev. H. C. Reichardt		
Remarks by Rev. A. Löwy		3839
Remarks by Rev. W. Wright, D.D		3940
Remarks by Rev. W. H. Sewell		40
Rev. H. C. Reichardt. Exhibition of Cylinder Seal		40
Professor A. H. Sayce. The Kappadokian Cuneifo	orm	
Inscription now at Kaisariyeh	•••	41-44
George Bertin. Ditto, ditto	. •••	45—46
Rev. H. G. Tomkins. The Ancient Geography of North		
Syria		58-62

### CONTENTS.

Theo. G. Pinches. Babylonian Tablets relating to House-	PAGE
holding	
Theo. G. Pinches. The name Ben-Hadad	71-74
Remarks by George Bertin	7576
S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. ( <i>President</i> ). Remarks on a Board with an Hieratic Inscription, and four Sepulchral Vases	
H. Rassam. Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian	
Cities	8384
S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. ( <i>President</i> ). Some Ostraka, or Inscribed Potsherds, of the time of the Twelve Cæsars	
Dr. S. Louis. The Poor Laws of the Hebrews	9597
H. Villiers-Stuart, M.P. Exhibition of Flint Instruments	
from Egypt	9798
S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. ( <i>President</i> ). Observations on Canopic Vases from Tel-Basta, exhibited by F. G. Hilton-Price,	
F.S.A	98—100
Professor W. Wright, LL.D. On Five Phœnician Gems	100—101
Rev. W. Wright, D.D. Ditto, ditto	102—103
Theo. G. Pinches. Contract Tablet from Babylon inscribed	
with Unknown Characters	
Rev. Dr. Placzek. Ancient Observations on the Flight of	•
Pigeons. Translated and read by Rev. A. Löwy	111—113
Alexander Enmann. On the Origin of the Cypriote	
Syllabary	113—119
Remarks by W. Boscawen	118
Remarks by the President	119
S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. (President). Remarks on the Ostraka	
at Queen's College, Oxford	119—120
Professor John P. Peters. The Akkadian Numerals	120—121
Dr. Oppert. Contract Tablet from Babylon, inscribed with	

### CONTENTS.

S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. (President). Ostraka of the reigns of
Nerva and Trajan
P. le Page Renouf. An Egyptian Preposition 135
Rev. A. Löwy. Underground Structures in Biblical
Lands 140—146
W. H. Rylands. The Inscription of Aleppo, etc146-149
W. Pleyte. Mentions of the Christian Religion in Egyptian
Documents 149—152
Theo. G. Pinches. Contract Tablet from Babylon, inscribed
with Unknown Characters 152—154
Professor A. H. Sayce. On the names Shem and Japhet154-155
E. A. Budge. Some new Himyaritic Inscriptions155-157
Dr. Birch. Ostraka of Hadrian, the Antonines, and their
successors
F. Cope Whitehouse. Researches in the Mæris Basin169-176
Secretary's Report, List of Council, &c., &c 51-55, 57
Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for year ending
December 31st, 1882 56
Donations to Library 1, 33, 49, 65, 81, 93, 109, 137
Purchases for Library 34, 66, 82, 94, 110, 139
Nomination of Candidates 4, 34, 50, 67, 82, 94, 110
Election of Members 35, 50, 67, 83, 94, 110, 139, 140
Notices of Decease of Members 33, 49
Publications of the Society, Notices, &c. 32, 46, 48, 63, 64, 92,
108, 136

### ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Extract from Cylinder of Nabonidus	. 12
Kappadokian Cuneiform Inscription now at Kaisariyeh	. 41
Inscriptions from Canopic Vases from Tel Basta. 2 plates	. 99
Four Phœnician Gems (five inscriptions)	. 100
Contract Tablet from Babylon, inscribed with Unknown Characters	
The Aleppo Inscription	•



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### **PROCEEDINGS**

OF



### THE SOCIETY

OF

### BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1882-83.

First Meeting, 7th November, 1882.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXIV. Nos. 220 and 221. 8vo. 1882.

From the Society of Antiquaries:—Proceedings. Second Series. Vol. VIII, No. 5. April to December, 1880.

List of Fellows, 8th June, 1882. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. IV, Nos. 8, 9, and 10. August to October, 1882. 8vo.

From the Geological Society:—Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXVIII. No. 151. August, 1882.

— List of Fellows. November, 1880. 8vo. Loudon. 1882. From the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XIV. Parts 3 and 4. July, 1882. 8vo. London. 1882. [No. xxxIII.]

- From the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society:—
  The Journal. No. 3, December, 1859. Vol. II, No. 1, September, 1860. New Series, Nos. 1 to 4, 1864-67; Nos. 6 to 14, 1869-71.
  - Vol. XVI. Part 2. 8vo. Shanghai. 1882.
- Catalogue of Library. Shanghai. 1872.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1881-82. Nos. 18 and 19. July and August. Session 1882-83. No. 1; October. 4to. London. 1882.
- —— Transactions, Session 1881–82. 4to, 1882.
- List of Members, 1882-83. 4to. 1882.
- From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—
  The Journal. Vol. XII. No. 1. August, 1882. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—The Journal. Vol. XXXIX. Nos. 154, 155. 8vo. 1882. London.
- From the Royal Society of Literature:—The Transactions. Second Series. Vol. XII. Part 3. 8vo. London. 1882.
- From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—Quarterly Statement, July and October, 1882. 8vo. London. 1882.
- From the Société Royal des Antiquaires du Nord:—Mémoires, Nouvelle Série, 1881. 8vo. Copenhague. 1882.
- —— Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Parts 2 and 4. 1881. 8vo. Kjobenhavn. 1882.
- From the Anglo-Jewish Association:—The Eleventh Annual Report, 1881-82. 8vo. London.
- From the Smithsonian Institution:—List of Foreign Correspondents, January, 1882. 8vo. Washington.
- The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. IV, No. 3, July, 1882. 8vo. 1882. Chicago.
- From the American Philological Association:—13 Vols. 1869-70 to 1881. 8vo. Hartford, U.S.A.
- From the Author, R. V. Lanzone:—Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum at Turin, published by the Minister of Public Instruction. 4to. 1881.

- From the Author:—Egypt of the Past. By Sir Erasmus Wilson, LL.D., F.R.S. Second Edition. 8vo. London. 1882.
- From the Author:—On a German Astronomico-Astrological Manuscript, and on the Origins of the Signs of the Zodiac. By Robert Brown, jun., Esq., F.S.A. London. 4to. 1882.

Reprinted from the Archæologia, Vol. XLVII.

- From the Author:—Die Sargonsstele des Berliner Museums. Von Eb. Schrader. 4to. Berlin. 1882.
  - Aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1881.
- From the Author:—Pyramids, Bahr-Yûsuf, Moeris, the Labyrinth, and the Sphinx. By F. Cope Whitehouse, M.A.

Privately Printed, 1882. 4to. London.

- From the Author:—Remarques sur les Portraits des Rois Assyro-Chaldéens. Par M. J. Menant. 8vo. Paris. 1882.
  - Extrait des comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. 4 Serie. Tome IX.
- From the Author:—The Origin of the Primitive Home of the Semites. By Geo. Bertin, Esq.
  - Reprinted from the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XI, No. 4.
- From the Author:—Report on the Progress of Cuneiform Research. By Theo. G. Pinches, Esq.
  - Reprinted from the Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Philological Society, May, 1882. 8vo. London.
- From the Author:—Biblical Proper Names, Personal and Local. By the Rev. H. G. Tomkins.
  - Reprinted from the Journal of the Victoria Institute. Vol. XVI (?). 8vo. London. 1882.
- From the Author:—The Great Discovery of Royal Mummies at Deir-el-Bahari. A Lecture by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins. 12mo. Weston-super-Mare. 1882.
- From the Rev. J. Marshall:—An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians. By Edward William Lane. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1836.

From Rev. A. F. A. Woodford:—Remarks on some Egyptian Monuments in England. By the Right Hon. C. Yorke and W. Martin Leake, Esq. 4to. London.

Paper read before the Royal Society of Literature, June 6th, 1826.

From W. J. Haywood:—Discoveries at Ephesus, including the site and remains of the great Temple of Diana. By J. T. Wood. 4to. London. 1877.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on December 5th:—

Eugène Autran, Les Charmelles, Geneva.

Captain C. R. Conder, Devon Cottage, Guildford, Surrey.

Rev. Canon John Grainger, D.D., M.R.I.A., Broughshane, Co. Antrim.

Thomas S. Jago, H.B. Majesty's Consul, Jeddah.

Rev. H. C. Reichardt, Tunis.

Thos. Wilberforce Stoughton, Lynton Villa, Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood.

Charles Alfred Swinburne, Upper Hamilton Terrace, St. John's . Wood.

Frederic A. White, Kinross House, Cromwell Road, S.W.

Howell Wills, The Temple.

Coventry A. Woodhouse, 9, Pembridge Crescent, Bayswater, W.

## To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Weston-super-Mare Church Institute, 1, South Parade.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle de Paris, 35, Rue de Tréves, Paris.

A communication from M. E. Révillout was read by the Secretary, "On a Demotic Papyrus containing the malediction of an Egyptian mother on her son embracing Christianity."

This papyrus, belonging to Mr. Dodgson, was, at the request of the President, placed at the disposal of M. Révillout, to lay an account of its contents before the Society. The document, unique of its kind, is particularly interesting, containing as it does a series of maledictions pronounced against a son by his mother, speaking also in the name of the spirit of her deceased husband. It may be

considered as showing the struggle of Egyptian paganism in its decline against Christianity at its dawn. It tells of a man Petosor. who having been converted to Christianity, had, according to custom. changed his pagan name, which means "the gift of Osiris," into the Christian name Peter. He not only gave up the old religion of Egypt to embrace the doctrine of the Gospel, but it appears that the zeal of the new convert carried him very far, and that he had often uttered threats against paganism then still in power. The wildest converts always acquired a high position by their very violence, and this is the part acted by Peter. M. Révillout was of opinion that he probably held a very high position among the clergy—and his mother reproaches him, that since he had made for himself a god that could kill, he lived with others in abundance, and abandoned his pagan She speaks of his buildings, of his desecrating threats against the temples, and of his sacrilegious parodies of the sacred rites. She represents him always as a kind of chief of a sect, and this is one of the principal reasons for her anger. She wishes by her maledictions to avenge the cause of the gods, outraged and attacked by her son; it is for this reason that, though acting under her own name, as well as for her dead husband, she wrote the solemn protestation which is under consideration. The pious pagan refuses to call her son by the sacred name Petosor, which she had given him at his birth, and she shrinks also from accepting the profane name assumed when he was converted. Hence she calls him Petu, or Tu, simply "The Gift." M. Révillout, after giving a translation of the document, so far as possible, made some interesting remarks on the contents of a papyrus he was about to publish, detailing the discussion between the jackal, Koufi, and the Ethiopian cat. No positive statement, he said, could be made as to the exact date of the papyrus, but he pointed out that, as to the character of its writing, it agreed with certain Demotic receipts of the second century, and was, he thought, certainly posterior to the Rhind bilingual papyrus of the century of Augustus.

Dr. Birch mentioned that the fable of the lion and the rat had already been published by Brugsch Bey. It had been supposed that the fables attributed to Esop had an Egyptian origin; the Egyptians, indeed, thought that all animals were endowed with speech, and perhaps this was the origin of the belief in their oracular power. It would be remembered that in the d'Orbiney Papyrus (Tale of Two Brothers) the cows speak to one another, and the younger brother

ſ1882.

understands their discourse. There are also some Assyrian fables of the time of Assurbanipal.

M. RÉVILLOUT stated that the fable of the lion and the rat formed part of the same papyrus as the discussion of the jackal and the cat. Brugsch Bey\* had indeed well translated it, but as a separate text.

MR. RENOUF pointed out that in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead (line 40), one of the beatitudes of the faithful consists of listening to the great conversation between the donkey and the cat. He did not, however, believe that this conversation was of a The cat is the sun god; the donkey is either fabulous nature. Set (night) or, according to chapter 40, Osiris, that is the sun of vesterday. The conversation therefore of these two personages is of the same nature as that spoken of in Psalm xix, 2, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge."

Remarks were also added by Rev. C. J. Ball, Rev. A. Löwy, and Mr. R. S. Poole.

Thanks were returned to M. Révillout for this communication.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the second paper by M. Révillout, on Two Contracts of Marriage, of the time of Darius, written in the Demotic character, was postponed.

A Paper—"Some Recent Discoveries bearing on the Ancient History and Chronology of Babylonia," was read by Theo. G. Pinches.

Documents of the reign of Nabonidus have always been regarded by scholars as of the first importance, not only on account of his connections with the nations then rising into prominence, but also on account of the information contained in them regarding the early ages of Babylonian history, made known to us by his many references to the early rulers of Babylonia.

A large number of new and important inscriptions have lately been brought to light by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam's excavations in the site of Sipara or Sepharvaim, lately discovered by him. The greater part of these documents are tablets, referring to the revenues of the temple, dated in the reigns of the kings Samas-sum-ukin (Saosduchinos), Kandalanu (Kineladanos), Nabopalassar, Nebuchadnezzar II. Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, Lâbaši-Marduk (Labosardach), Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Bardes, Darius, and Artaxerxes. The importance of these tablets lies in their dates, and in the genealological

<sup>\*</sup> Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprach., 1879, p. 47, &c.

tables which, most likely, can be derived from them, to enable us to check the chronology of this time, but their contents are otherwise uninteresting. The gems, however, of the collection are some cylinders from this ancient site, referring principally (as do most of this kind) to the architectural works of the different kings, and containing also praises of the gods, with references to other cities and temples. One of the above-mentioned cylinders, bearing the name of Nabonidus, is especially worthy of mention on account of the important historical notices it contains.

This monument is in an excellent state of preservation, and contains, in three columns, 150 lines of writing, fairly and clearly written. It begins, as usual, with the name and titles of Nabonidus, in the usual style of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, stating, as in other inscriptions, that he was the son of Nabû-balat-su-ikbî, the rubû êmku or "powerful prince." Nabonidus then speaks of the temple E-hulhul, "the house of the Moongod, within Harranu," in which that deity had had his seat from remote days, and had set his heart upon that house and city. The Sabmanda, however, had come, and had destroved the temple, reducing it to ruins. In the "righteous reign" of Nabonidus, Bêl, the great lord, in his love for the rule of this king, required the restoration of the city and temple. To this end, Marduk and Sin, the Moongod, revealed, in a dream, the wishes of Bêl regarding the restoration of the temple. The king, in answer, expressed his willingness to do the work, and complained of the destruction caused by the Sabmanda. What follows this being of the highest historical value, the whole paragraph referring to the dream, &c., is here given :-

"In the beginning of my long reign, Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, the strengthener of all, showed me a dream. Marduk spoke with me: 'Nabonidus king of Babylon, come up with the horses of thy chariot, build the walls of È-hulhul, and have the seat of Sin, the great lord, set within it.' Reverently I spoke to the lord of the gods, Marduk: 'I will build this house of which thou speakest. The Ṣabmanda destroyed it, and strong was their might.' Marduk spoke with me: 'The Ṣabmanda, of which thou speakest; they, their country, and the kings going by their side, shall not exist.' In the third year he caused Cyrus, king of Anzan, his young servant, to go with his little army; he overthrew the wide-spreading Ṣabmanda, he captured Ištumegu (Astyages), king of Ṣabmanda, and took his treasures to his (own) land."

Nabonidus now executed the command of the gods, received the message, and took upon himself the care of the work. He caused his "vast army" to come from Gaza (Hazzati) on the borders of Egypt (Miṣir), from the "upper sea across the Euphrates to the lower sea," to restore the temple É-hulhul, which he calls "the house of Sin my lord going by my side, which is within Harran." This temple, Nabonidus then goes on to say, had been restored by Aššur-ban'-apli (Assurbanipal), son of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, "the prince going before him."

Nabonidus now, as he says, went on joyfully with the work, and found the cylinders of Aššur-ban'-apli king of Assyria, and of Šulmanrištan (Shalmeneser II), son of Aššur-naṣir-apli. The restorations of Nabonidus, however, according to his own account, went far beyond those of any of "the kings his fathers," who had restored the temple. The brickwork of the walls was covered evidently with a kind of enamel such as has been found at Babylon, and made to appear like white marble,\* and figures of the god Lahmu were placed right and left of the doors. The figure of the god Sin was brought, with that of another deity, from Su-anna (Babylon), and placed "with joy and shouting" in his new shrine at Harran. A long description of the rejoicings in the city now follows, at the end of which Nabonidus says that he did not disturb the inscription of Aššur-ban'-apli which he saw, but placed his own with it.

The Babylonian king now goes on to speak of the celebrated temple of the Sun-god, É-bara, at Sipara. This temple, he says, had been already restored by Nebuchadnezzar, who had sought for, but had not seen, the ancient cylinders. Forty-five years afterwards Nabonidus excavated the walls and foundations, but was evidently equally unsuccessful. In consequence of this he had the image of the Sun-god taken out of É-bara, and placed for a time in another temple. Nabonidus now began a systematic search, excavating no less than eighteen cubits,† and then, he says, "The cylinder of Naram-Sin son of Sargon, which for three thousand two hundred years no king going before me had seen, Šamaš, the great lord of É-bara, the house, the seat of the joy of his heart, revealed to me." Nabonidus then gives a description of what he did to restore the temple,

<sup>\*</sup> The words are: ušanbit šaššaniš, "I caused to shine marble-like." Šaššaniš is an adverbial form in -is, from šaššau, evidently the Hebrew "", "white marble."

<sup>† (</sup>W M Samnašerit (?) ammat gagari.

# CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS,

DISCOVERED BY H. RASSAM AT ABU HABBA, 1882.

PORTION OF INSCRIPTION RELATING TO THE CONQUEST OF MEDIA

BY THE PERSIANS, UNDER CYRUS,

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and how, with joy and gladness, he brought back the image of the Sun-god. He then says: "I saw the writing of the name of Naram-Sin son of Sargon, and I did not alter (it). I cleansed the altar, I sacrificed a victim. I placed (it) with my written name, and restored (it) to its place." An address to Šamaš, in which Nabonidus asks him to look favourably upon the work, and to bring prosperity, both in heaven and earth, by his daily rising and setting, follows He asks also that the sceptre and šibirru\* of righteousness which the Sun-god had placed in his hands might rule the generations for ever.

Next comes the description of the restoration of the temple of Anunitum, "the lady of battle, bearer of the bow and mace, accomplisher of the behest of Bêl, her father," &c., &c., "she who walks before the gods, and with the rising and setting sun gladdens the dominions" of Nabonidus. This temple was called É-ulbar, and was situated in the city named "Sipara of Anunitum." first care was, as usual, to seek for records of the earlier rulers who had restored the temple, and in this case he was successful in digging out and reading the record of | A TO F IN EV EV EV EV Šagašalti-Buriaš, or (as given by another copy) EV EN E Saggasti-Burias, son of Y ₩ ♥ ١ ١ Kudur-ri Since the time of this king (about 1050 B.C.), no other ruler had restored the temple, and Nabonidus therefore began with vigour the necessary work, making it more splendid than it had ever been before. In the invocation of Anunit at the end, he calls upon the goddess to look, on her entrance into the temple, with favour on the work, and monthly with the rising and the setting sun to pray to the Moongod, the father, her begetter, for good fortune.

At the end of this long inscription, Nabonidus, in the usual set terms, calls upon any future prince whom Samas should call to the sovereignty of the people, to restore the ruins of the temple, to look

<sup>\*</sup> The sibirru was evidently a weapon which could be thrown by the hand, and which was used in warfare. The name is found upon some gate-sockets of the time of Sennacherib, where they are described as sibirru brought from the countries conquered by that king, evidently as mementos of the expeditions. In this sibirru is evidently to be found the origin of the orb of modern days; the sibirru, however, was not the emblem of power over the world, but the emblem of the long arm of justice, reaching the offender even from a distant place, when the sceptre was powerless.

<sup>†</sup> Anunit, as will be seen from the above, is the star Venus at the rising and setting of the sun, and for this reason the two Siparas (Sepharvaim) were dedicated to Samas and Anunit.

at the record of his name, and not to alter it. He asks him also to cleanse the altar, to sacrifice a victim, to place his own written name with that of Nabonidus, and restore it to its place. If he do this, then Šamaš and Anunit will hear his prayer, will grant his request, will go by his side, will destroy his enemies, and every day will ask Sin their father for prosperity for him.

Such is a short account of the contents of this important cylinder, the principal points of interest in which we shall now proceed to look into more closely, taking them in the order in which they occur on the cylinder. The first, and most interesting, is that in which Nabonidus speaks of the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus. For the sake of comparison, Cyrus's own account,\* after a new and careful collation of the text, is here given:—

2. Y ZY WEY Y- CA Y X → YA EYY EY → EYY Y → D.P. Iš - tu -me - gu șabi-šu ibbalkit - su - ma ina ķâtā șa-bat, .

["Astyages] gathered [his army], and went against Cyrus, king of Anšan, to capture (him), and . . . . Astyages' army revolted against him and made him prisoner (lit., took him with hands), and gave [him]

<sup>\*</sup> See Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. VII, p. 155.

to Cyrus. Cyrus [went] to the land of Ecbatana, his royal city. He carried off from Ecbatana silver, gold, furniture, goods, [and merchandise], and took to the land of Anšan the furniture (and) goods which he had taken."

It will be seen from the above that the two accounts differ to a great extent, and it is probable that that of Cyrus is the more correct, agreeing, as it does, with the story told by Herodotus, who says that the Persians revolted against Astyages under Cyrus, who then marched to Media, and that in the battle which followed, only those of the Medes who knew nothing about the counsels of Harpagus to rebel against Astyages fought bravely against the Persians, and the struggle being of but short duration, was hardly regarded by Cyrus as a resistance to his forces. According to the account taken from the annals, Astyages, coming with an army to capture Cyrus, was given up to him by his own soldiers; according to Nabonidus, Cyrus himself captured Astyages. The account given by the annals, however, is probably the right one. Both versions agree that Cyrus took possession of all the treasures of Astyages.

In one other important point, also, the two accounts seem not to agree, and that is the date. Nabonidus says that it was in the third year that Cyrus overthrew the Sabmanda under Astyages, whilst, according to the annals, it should be the sixth year. The probability is, however, that Nabonidus refers to the third year after he had had the dream in which their destruction was promised.

Such is, shortly, the bearing and historical value of the first important point in this inscription, and the only thing that remains to be noticed is the name Sabmanda, which is given to the Medes by Nabonidus. What the name means, and whence it came, it is impossible to say. Sir H. C. Rawlinson thinks that the first character, namely, A. Sab, must have another reading in this case, and he would therefore propose to read Urmanda. A. certainly has the value of erim, and one might therefore easily read Erimmanda, were it not that two-syllable values are most uncommon in Assyrian and Babylonian, and that sab is the only usual value of A. in the inscriptions. It is best, therefore, to keep, for the present, the reading Sabmanda, which is most likely, after all, the correct one.

The next important reference, that which mentions Shalmaneser, agrees with the Assyrian records. For this king's own account of his expedition to Babylonia, see the Transactions of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.,

Vol. VII, p. 104, and following. Shalmaneser, however, does not mention Sipara. It is difficult to see why Shalmaneser is called by Nabonidus Sulman-ristan, unless it be that they wished to distinguish him from the former king of that name, by calling him Shalman the Great. It is also possible that the characters TY RIS-TAN are translated by Esēru in Babylonian.

Most important, from a chronological point of view, is the fixing of the date (though given evidently in round numbers) of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon I, two of the most celebrated kings of the beginning of the Babylonian empire. The text of the line containing this important fact is as follows:—

RIM 大以来は下半年今世 â-lik mah-ri-ia lâ î-mu-ru

"Which, for three thousand two hundred years, no king going before me had seen."\*

Adding to this date the date of Nabonidus before Christ, say 550 years, we get, for the date of Naram-Sin, 3,750 years B.C. Sargon, father of this king, if he be, as is most likely, the king of whom it is related that his mother placed him in a little ark on the Euphrates, reigned at least forty years, and the date of this early king and hero may therefore be set down at 3,800 B.C.

The 500 years, mentioned in connection with Saga-salti-Burias, gives, for the date of that king, about 1050 years before Christ, and is also of great value for Babylonian chronology.

DR. OPPERT, in congratulating Mr. Pinches on the discovery of the inscription, considered that it was a date that fixed the remote history of Babylonia more firmly than before. He pointed out that the sign Sab had been read by Sir Henry Rawlinson as Ur, and that Urwanda was the well-known Persian word Uremanda, which now existed in the name Elwend.

DR. OPPERT also mentioned the discoveries of M. de Sarezec, and gave a translation of one of the statue inscriptions; a detailed description of which, with translations by Dr. Oppert, has already appeared in the *Comptes rendus des inscriptions et belles-lettres*.

\* Word for word: "any king going before me not had seen."

Remarks were also added by Dr. Weymouth, Mr. Villiers Stuart, M.P., Rev. Alex. Taylor, Mr. R. S. Poole, Mr. Offord, and the President.

Thanks were returned to Mr. Pinches for his communication, and to Dr. Oppert for his remarks.

The following Communication has been received:

DEAR MR. RYLANDS.

17th October, 1882.

According to Brugsch's theory of the Exodus, Pihahiroth (Exodus xiv, 2) means, "in the language of the Egyptian texts, in face of the Khirot, this being the ancient word which applies exactly to the gulfs of weedy lakes." The inscriptions, we are told, "expressly give to the Egyptian god Amen the title of Lord of the Khirot, that is, 'gulfs' of the lagoons of papyrus."

Dr. Brugsch is the first and (as far as I am aware) the only scholar who knows of such a word as Khirot signifying gulfs, whether of weedy lakes or of any other kind. In order to produce this word it is necessary to assign the value xer to the hieroglyphic sign (representing the Oxyrynchus), which has hitherto, on indisputable evidence, received the value  $\chi a$ . To the new value which he thinks he has discovered. Dr. Brugsch, of course, attaches very great importance. He has written a good deal on the subject in both his Dictionaries, and in the Zeitschrift für äg vptische Sprache. His efforts have not been crowned with complete success. Dr. Karl Piehl, an admirable Swedish scholar, in his review of the Hieroglyphic Dictionary, says that the new reading is "encore dénuée de preuves suffisantes," and Professor Ebers, in the last number but one of the Zeitschrift, has an excellent article pointing out the weakness of the evidence produced by Brugsch, and strongly protesting against the unscientific method adopted by him. In this protest I beg most respectfully and cordially to join, with all the modesty and humility due to a scholar whose untiring activity and learning have laid us all under so many deep obligations. Dr. Brugsch has begun a rejoinder to Ebers, and though he has not yet finished it, I believe that I am sufficiently familiar with the evidence, as far as it can be depended upon, to feel satisfied that although my ignorance on the subject of Pihahiroth does not greatly trouble my soul, yet this attempt to identify it involves the wrong reading of many words, a fatally erroneous and exploded system of etymology, and false theories of decipherment and language. I do not, however, wish to intrude into the controversy between the principal disputants, beyond delivering my testimony on some cardinal points of the evidence which has been adduced.

- 1. I beg to testify that Mr. Goodwin was very far indeed from being convinced that he had discovered a "festgestellte Variante =  $\cap$  He was always under the impression that the  $\stackrel{\triangle}{=}$  in was a preposition, utterly unconnected in sound with the sign  $\bigcap$ . For a long time he thought that sau was the probable value of this sign, and when he discovered another reading in one of the Leyden papyri, he published it in the hope that other observations might confirm or disprove it. But long after this he spoke of the reading as a very questionable one. In the first place he doubted whether the first sign in the papyrus before was really ... very unlike it if compared with undoubted instances of that sign in other parts of the papyrus; where, moreover, it is always accompanied by the supplemental sign . In the next place Goodwin was much too sagacious a man to found an argument on what might be either a different reading\* or a simple blunder. The papyrus is a very valuable one, but its value lies not in its antiquity or authority, but in its completeness and its almost unmutilated condition. just as likely to give a different or a faulty reading as any other Mr. Goodwin was very much disposed to go back to his old reading sau, derived from a comparison of Todt. 136, 15 with 133, 13.
- 2. I am unable to acquiesce in Dr. Brugsch's statement about the group , nor can I admit that his facsimile gives the "genaue Darstellung des Wortes." A "genaue Darstellung" ought to enable one to compare the word with its neighbours. Now in the Hood papyrus the sign in each case rises high above all
- \* "A different reading" was Goodwin's objection to the instances I produced in which is cocurs in some copies of Todt. 15 and is in others; and I never hesitated to acknowledge that this might be the case. M. Maspero has now (Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 130) produced proof that in the earliest times was seps. A la bonne heure! There is no philological difficulty whatever about this value, as there was about sep; but it was sep and not seps for which both Goodwin and Brugsch contended (Zeitschrift, 1867, pp. 85 and 98), and there was no authority for seps till M. Maspero found it. Queen Hatasu must now disappear from history, but so must Hashop; and Hatshepsu must occupy their places.

the other signs in the same line, and the sign below it acquires also an abnormal development. But it is quite impossible to say with certainty that this sign is an and not a . In the freedom of cursive writing these two signs are often made so like to one another that it is utterly impossible to distinguish between them. And this manuscript is no exception to the rule. Dr. Birch, who has charge of the manuscript, and whose authority on the subject cannot be surpassed, inspected it carefully with me, and he will, I am sure, bear witness to what I am saying.

But supposing that the letter is , how can we be sure that, in a word of which there is no other instance known, the writer has not made a mistake? I can only express my astonishment at the assertion that one can hardly imagine an Egyptian grammatcus to have made the same mistake twice in a reduplicated word. There is no imaginable blunder of which such a person may not have been guilty.

- 3. Dr. Brugsch has sought in vain for copies of *Todt.* 110a containing the passage which, according to the Turin papyrus, has and according to the papyrus of Sutimes, and according to the papyrus of Sutimes, he will find the passage in the papyrus of Nebseni, and in the Leyden papyrus of which I have just spoken. Both of these papyri agree with the Turin *Todtenbuch* in reading has a considered by the readings implies thunder, or that thunder was considered by the Egyptians as the snoring of Set.

There is a double mistake here. The feminine group  $\frac{2}{c_0}$ , as I have recently said, is to be read uat, and I challenge Dr. Brugsch to produce evidence to the contrary. I know as well as he that  $\frac{2}{c_0}$  without the  $c_0$  is sometimes  $c_0$  is sometimes  $c_0$  in the word  $c_0$ . It is amusing to see how, from ignorance of this fact, Dr. Brugsch, in his recent additions to his Lexicon, has failed to see the full force of one of his own arguments. In order

to prove that  $\bigvee$  was read up, he quotes an alliterative text beginning  $\bigcup_{n=1}^{\infty} \frac{2n}{n}$ , which he reads  $up \cdot na$  maten instead of  $up \cdot na$  uat.

The stick, I would sincerely hope (were I not a Christian and a philanthropist), was most liberally applied to the back and shoulders of the wretch who, instead of the wretch would, some thousand years later on, induce one of the most learned Egyptologists to imagine that he had discovered "a dialectic variant," when he had merely dropped upon a mare's nest. The only extenuating circumstance that I can think of is, that I have occasionally met, in cursive texts, with the sign of so written as to suggest the sign of, and if Dr. Brugsch has not done so till now I shall be surprised. But the inscriptions from which this instance is taken are so full of errors that Dr. Erman scrupulously avoided quoting them in his dissertation on Egyptian plurals.

M. Naville speaks of the negligence and the "fautes grossières" in the tomb of Rameses IV.

If he had found implies the word preceding was not the phonetic equivalent of the sign signifying body, but a preposition governing it. And such is the well-known word xer, the signification of which has nothing in common with that of xat. The passage quoted (p. 83) by Dr. Brugsch will at once be understood after this explanation. The words of Rā are addressed not to "the body," but to "him who is in the body." is not "O Körper verborgener," but "O thou who art in obscurity," or "who hast come" to obscurity.

On turning back the pages of Champollion's Notices (II, 611) to which Dr. Brugsch refers, the same preposition appears under the 16

forms (p. 609). The a here is the suffix and the suffix and as these adjectives may sometimes be used substantively, I may as well here speak of (p. 609). The a here is the suffix and the several prepositions (e.g. (p. 609)) assume together with a corresponding modification of meaning, very much like the Latin prepositions in, prace, sub, inter, practer, subter. And Egyptian prepositions may become prepositional adjectives; and as these adjectives may sometimes be used substantively, I may as well here speak of (p. 111), a word which occurs not unfrequently, and which Dr. Brugsch has most luckily not thought of, or he might have favoured us with a good number of supposed "variants" of (p. 609).

The prepositions or, and χer (very often vocalised χra), have very similar, though not identical, meanings and uses. The former is rendered by εis, the latter by προs in the bilingual inscriptions. The plural adjectival form in the prepositions of the internal adjectival form in the plural series of the internal nature or essence of a person, such as a god. The plural form frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently read of a god frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently frequently found with a similar meaning. We frequently f

6.  $\chi$ enrà, is not a variant or even a form of  $\chi$ enrà. It is a different word altogether, and it has a different sense. And what is more, it is wrongly written.  $\chi$ enrà or  $\chi$ enràu  $\chi$ enràu is the form which occurs in some of the finest MSS. of the Book of the Dead. See, e.g., the Papyrus of Sutimes, and the splendid papyrus

\* in the recently discovered texts of the ancient Empire.

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Leyden, second from the temple of Medinet

Leyden, where a faulty determinative has been attached to it. Every

Leyden, sponsa, is its "Koptische Nachfolge," it would be desirable

to know through what extraordinary accident the final Thas been

preserved in Coptic.)—Liberavi animam meam.

Very truly yours,

P. LE P. RENOUF.

P.S.—As this letter is likely to appear before the paper on Egyptian mythology which I read to the Society last March, I had better say at once that I understand by  $\chi a$  pet, not thunder, but rain, literally "fall of the sky;"  $\chi a$  being connected with the Coptic 8.61, cadere, decidere, ruina. The kindred word  $\chi at$  is a dead body,  $\pi r \hat{w} \mu a$ , cadaver, and the of the Ebers Papyrus are dejectiones alvi.

<sup>\*</sup> Between the two words the group generally written untum, in hieroglyphics, occurs. It is wonderful that on the strength of a doubtful variant of the base period, Dr. Brugsch should have changed the transcription of a number of words from un to tem. If Coptic etymologies are to have any weight in the question, what can be more decisive than OVENT (Jonah I, 5) for a word which Dr. Brugsch renders "Der Bauch eines Schiffes?" is un and is tu in all the classical period. All that he says is insufficient to show that is not a blunder in Todt., 93, 2, which is full of the grossest faults, as a comparison with other MSS. will show. The old word up va probably suggested the later and the words tu and va, both signifying evil, got confounded.

The following communication has been received from Mr. George Bertin:—

On the Character and Influence of the Accent in the Akkadian and Assyrian Words,

While investigating the Akkadian and Assyrian poetry, I have arrived at a conclusion of some importance as to the influence of the accent in the phonetic decay and generation of words in these two languages.

Assyrian, like Hebrew, had the accent on the last or penultimate syllable of words; Akkadian, on the contrary, had primitively the accent on the antepenultimate, and even sometimes on the preantepenultimate. In both languages the accent was strong, and all sounds clear and broad. Those who have studied the development and decay of language in general will easily see what the result of such a state of things would be.

In Akkadian the tendency was to drop final syllables, and indeed all syllables not having the accent—a thing that has actually happened in English. In Assyrian, on the contrary, the accent being on the last or penultimate syllable, it preserved the word intact, or its initial syllable alone was lost. Two tongues of such an opposite and even antagonistic character, spoken side by side for centuries, must have left many traces of the necessary struggle, and the words passing from one into the other must have been more or less altered.

The Akkadian words, which had already been reduced to monosyllabics when borrowed by the Assyrians, had their last consonant doubled, to express the accent and turn them into dissyllabics:—

al becomes allu for á-lu.
gug ", kukku ", kú-ku.

Polysyllabics are treated in the same way:-

idim becomes idimmu for idi-mu.

utuk ,, udukku ,, udú-ku.

tukul ,, tukullu ,, tukú-lu.

gukul ,, gukkullu ,, gukkú-lu.

It may be objected that if the Assyrians had borrowed from Akkadian a word having the accent on a certain syllable, they would have preserved it there; this, however, is not what has occurred in similar circumstances in other tongues. For instance, French has always its very feeble accent on the last syllable, and the foreign words it borrows are treated according to this rule without taking into account the foreign accent: examén for the Latin exámen, omnibús for ómnibus, dilettantí for dilettánti. The Assyrian did the same. There seem, however, to be an attempt to represent the primitive foreign accent in a few words, as gukkállu, from gúkal.

What is of the utmost importance is that while the process of phonetic decay was going on in Akkadian, and the words more and more reduced till they became all monosyllabics, the fuller and more primitive form was preserved in the Assyrian words borrowed at an earlier stage; so—

kā,	in Assyrian	kāgu,	supposes an Akk. form	ká aga.
dī	,,	dūg	,,	dt iga.
kī	,,	kikū	"	kika.
gū	,,	guțțu	"	gứ uta.
lamma	,,	lamassu	,,	lámasa.
zal	,,	azalu	,,	azála.
bara	,,	parakku	,,	báraga.
asirra	,,	asurrak	u "	asirraga.
dama	,,	edamuki	ku "	adámaga.
[or adama]				
dara	,,	turaḥu	19	dáraga.
ana	,,	anaku	,,	ánaga, etc.

It is easy to see that of these supposed forms many are already decayed and shortened from more primitive and longer ones.

As Assyrian was not exempt from phonetical decay, it sometimes lost or weakened the syllable preceding its accent, so we have:—

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killu for akkilu, from the Akkadian akkil.
edimmu "kidimu " " gidim.
nangaru " nagaru " " " nagar.
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Several other important conclusions might be drawn from these comparisons, and from the influence of the accent in Akkadian and Assyrian.

All the older and longer Akkadian forms terminate in g (in Assyrian represented by k or h). Mr. Pinches, who had already noticed this fact, was inclined to believe that we had here an old case-ending, fallen into disuse, but accidentally preserved in a few words, and treated as an integrant part of them, as in kalag, azag, pulug, etc.

Assyrian (that is, the Semitic dialect of the cuneiform inscriptions) must have been spoken at the earliest period collaterally with Akkadian, as it has borrowed words at all stages of their phonetical decay: first stage, asurraku, anaku; second stage, gukkullu, asalu; third stage,  $\delta \bar{a} r u$ ,  $d\bar{u}$ .

### PAPERS UPON ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR.

By THEO. G. PINCHES.

### INTRODUCTORY.

Assyrian was the tongue of the inhabitants of the district extending from the shores of the Persian Gulf on the south, to Armenia on the north, and from Elam and Persia on the east, to Phœnicia on the west. The people who spoke this language formed, originally, one nation, but split, in ancient times, into two, each having its own king. Notwithstanding, however, this separation, and the enmity which these two nations afterwards bore towards each other, the speech of each remained, even to the last, practically the same, the differences being so slight as hardly to amount to provincialisms.

An examination of the construction of the Assyrian language, presented to us in the numerous inscriptions, indicates that the people who spoke it were early separated from intercourse with the other Semitic tribes, and their language, therefore, struck out a course especially its own, and the difference between Assyrian and the other Semitic tongues is often very great. It is especially in the verbs that this departure is to be seen, and for this reason it has been thought well to treat of them first.

If it be really the case that the so-called permansive tense is a late formation (and there is every reason to regard it as such), then the same must be said for the corresponding tense (the perfect) in the other Semitic languages. Even at the time when the separation of the various tribes took place, however, the tendency to form this tense existed, and it was then most likely in full use, but confined to the third person.\* To the latest times any participle form could be used in Assyrian as a permansive, and take the endings of that tense. Another departure from the usages of the Semitic tongues, is the partial loss and partial change of meaning of the forms in u (in Hebrew the Pual and Hophal, and in Arabic the

passive forms of the various conjugations). Assyrian most likely had, at first, both the ordinary forms, and those having u as the vowel, but without any distinctive meaning, at least such as is found in Hebrew and Arabic. The examples of these forms which exist, that is, forms having the vowel u between the first and second radicals, or after the voice-formative, are only to be found in the infinitive and permansive of the intensive (Piel) stem, and the same tenses of the Shaphel. These forms have almost wholly replaced those in a, and have not necessarily a passive meaning.

Other verbal differences also exist. The primitive forms, in Assyrian, are to be found, to a great extent, in the various other Semitic tongues, the chief difference being that the Shaphel conjugation is in full use. The most striking thing, however, is the regular use not only of those secondary forms which insert the letter t,\* but also of those longer and more interesting tertiary forms which insert the particle tan,† indicating either speed or frequency.

To the above list of interesting verbal differences may be added the strange Niphal forms of those verbs weak of the first radical, in which the *n*, either with or without a vowel between, is doubled t—evidently indicating a nazalization of the vowel representing the lost or weakened consonant; and those secondary (and tertiary) Niphalforms which, dropping their *n* before the inserted *t*, will, perhaps, help to explain the Hebrew Niphal infinitive ( The International Properties). The importance, also, of the real tense-distinctions attached to the long and short forms of the imperfect, cannot be overlooked, and it is proposed, in these papers, to give many examples of their use for comparison.

Assyrian is also much richer in pronominal roots than the other Semitic tongues. For the first person singular of the personal pronoun, for example, no less than six words or forms are to be found,§

- \* The reflexive meaning of this particle in Assyrian seems to be best rendered by adding the word "self," with a pronoun, to the phrase. Thus iškun means "he made" (either he himself or by proxy), but iš:akin, "he himself made."
- † See the paradigm, p. 25. Some of these forms are not found in the case of the strong verb, but that they were once in use is proved by the fact that the verbs weak of the first radical could be used in these voices. Examples of the use of these interesting forms will be given in the course of these papers.
- ‡ Nangugu (from agāgu), "to be angered;" innipis (from epēsu), "it was made."
  - § These are: anaku, idu, idti, idtima, idsi, and dsi.

and for the second person singular the same number.\* The greater part of those expressing the first person are formed from the root iau,  $\dagger$  and this word being, as it really seems, the Assyrian representative of the Heb. "Tit" "to be," shows how, clashing with the Assyrian form of the word Jehovah ( $I\hat{a}u$ ), the divine name fell into disuse in Assyrian, and was replaced by ilu, a word probably of Akkadian origin. The importance of Assyrian in the science of Semitic philology will therefore readily be seen.

The Assyrian tongue seems, in the earliest times, to have been that of the inhabitants of the south or Babylonia. Large colonies. however, were probably sent out northwards, and the language was, in this way, taken almost as far as the mountains of Armenia. before this emigration the Assyrian (or, to speak more correctly, Babylonian) language came into contact with a speech of an entirely different character and genius—the Akkadian, and its dialect, Sumerian. It can easily be understood, therefore, that, as the two peoples were in close contact, the Assyrian language became greatly changed, a number of foreign words being introduced, and the grammar being, to a certain extent, modified, and made something like that of the Akkado-Sumerian language. Assyrian, however, kept to the last its distinctly Semitic character, and, while taking in freely words borrowed from the Akkadian, nevertheless retained in use most of the Semitic equivalents of those words, so that it was seldom needful to draw from a foreign source except for the purpose of bringing greater elegance into the composition.

Assyrian, like most other tongues, had dialects, but, in consequence of the newness of the study, their peculiarities are not easily detected. Most of the texts come from Nineveh and Babylon, and only give, therefore, examples of the language spoken at those places. Judging from these texts, one would say that not only the spelling, but also the composition of the phrases are based, to a great extent, upon tradition and usage, the style being modelled upon ancient translations of the Sumerian and Akkadian records, of which both nations had copies, and for this reason not only the written, but also the spoken language, seems hardly to have differed. It was in Assyria, however, that the clearer and purer pronunciation was kept,

<sup>\*</sup> Atta (m.), atti (f.), kûta (kûtam), kûši, kû, and kummu (kûmu = kûvu = kû'u?).

† See W.A.I. IV, p. 68, col. v, l. 59: Iûu, şit libbia, şêra tušarpidi, "Me (and) the offspring of my heart, thou causedest to spread abroad in the land." Iúu could also be used in the nominative.

and a more careful use of the case-endings of the nouns, &c., observed. The true folk-speech is undoubtedly to be found in those interesting letter-tablets in which the people are to be seen in the more ordinary occupations of life, though not entirely apart from officialism. It is in this popular language that those ground-texts of the science of Assyriology, the Achæmenian inscriptions, are composed.

In the very cities, however, where the classical language was most used, seems to have been a tongue, or, rather a form of speech, of a rougher kind, in use among the trading population. How far this language really differed from the literary language it is impossible to say, for the texts which have come down to us contain only the technical terms of trade needful to the occupation of the people, and a free use is also made of those ideographs which render the language, at times, so puzzling to the modern student.

In Babylonia, these trade-documents were always written by the professional scribe, who belonged, at least to some extent, to the learned class, and who observed, therefore, the traditions which he had learnt at school. This custom of employing professional scribes was also, most likely, in force in Assyria. These scribes seem to have possessed, besides the Assyrian or wedge writing, also a knowledge of the Phœnician characters, as the dockets sometimes written on the edge of those trade-tablets show. To these documents and their Phœnician legends, as well as to the correspondence-tablets, must we look, in order to gain an insight into the tongue of the more common people of those ancient empires. These trade-dockets also indicate that not only (as shown by the bilingual lists and syllabaries) were the Assyrians aware of the triliteralism of their language,\* but that they also had a knowledge, in some cases, of the original forms of their own weakened verbal roots.\*

### THE VERB AND ITS FORMS.

In Assyrian, as in all the other Semitic languages, the verb or root is triliteral, that is, it has three consonantal letters. Irregular verbs, properly speaking, are extremely rare, such irregularities as are found being only caused by the weakening or loss of one of the radical

<sup>\*</sup> This fact is interesting if we consider the great amount of phonetic decay from which the roots had suffered.

<sup>†</sup> Compare, for example, the Assyrian form of the proper name, אבייבור בייניים בייניים

letters, which, in Assyrian, becomes a mere vowel, and, as such, assimilates with the formatives.

The strong verb, in Assyrian, has twelve voices, formed, as in the other Semitic tongues, by the addition or insertion of certain servile letters, which modify the meaning in different ways. Of these twelve voices, four are primary, four secondary, and four tertiary, the two latter classes being formed from the first by inserting t and t an after the first radical or after the voice-formative. Taking the strong verb as our model, the following forms show the infinitive of each voice:—

I.	II.	III.	IV.
1. šakānu	1. naškunu	1. šukkunu	ı. šuškunu
2. šitakunu	2. itaškunu	2. šitakkunu	2. [šitaškunu]
3. šitankunu	3. [itanaškunu]	3. [šitanakkunu]	3. [šitanaškunu]

It will be seen that the primary forms correspond to the Kal, Niphal, and Piel, and that the secondary form of Shaphel corresponds to the Istaphal of Hebrew and Ethiopic.

In Assyrian the verb has four moods, namely, the indicative, the precative, the imperative, and the infinitive.

The primary tenses are, the permansive, the aorist or imperfect, and the present or future. The first-named is formed by suffixes only, and answers to the perfect of the other Semitic languages; the two latter are formed by both prefixes and suffixes, and answer to the imperfect of the other tongues.

### THE PERMANSIVE KAL.

The following are the forms of the Permansive Kal, restored from the various forms found in the texts.

### STRONG VERBS.

šakānu, "to accomplish." lamānu, "to be evil." Sing. šaknaku, 个一门回 [limnaku] taklak ₩-1 | Y EM šaknāta 个人以下 [limnāta] lumnu, 3. m. W-FF, W ELL šaknu, šakin lumun, limun 3. f. ▼-母→1注 (1- == EA) šaknat limnit

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Plural.
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# VERBS WEAK OF THE SECOND RADICAL.

kânu, "to be firm." (ע"צ)		dâku, "to kill." (ע"ר)		
,			Sing.	
ı.	個之国	kînaku	()井-六门 囯	[dêkaku]
2.	何了 写	[kināta]	(本本江下序)	[dêkāta]
	(但注十	kînu,	)	-
3. <i>m</i> .	《国际》	kênu	() 本 計 頂	dêku
	個層	kin	)	
3. f.	面上五	kînat	年出产时里	dêkat
			26	•

### Plural.

I.	国と三番	[kînāni]	金子江三半	[dêkāni]
2.	但之一一年十	[kinatunu]	(非·亞·西·	[dêkatunu]
3. m.	但十	kînū	() 牛 囯	dêkū, dîkū
3. <i>f</i> .	何人	kînā	<字 ↓ ↓ □	dêkā
		Duc	<i>zl</i> .	
3.	(国)	kînā	全十八	[dékā]

VERBS WEAK OF THE THIRD RADICAL

### Examples of the foregoing Forms.

1st pers. sing.:-

Ana-ku a - na éli šarri bê - li - ia ra - ah - ṣa-ku
"I upon the king my lord trust."

Rahsaku is from the root רחק, in Chaldee "to trust." Lowerdown in this same text occurs the same sentence, but with the word

EXT taklak, meaning also "I trust," substituted for rahṣaku. Taklak (root takālu) gives an example of the dropping of the u of the person-ending.

1st pers. plural:-

1 ni - i - ni ina silli sarri bê - li - i - ni
"and we in the protection of the king our lord

a-na da-ris bal-ta-a-nu for ever live."

2nd pers. sing. :-

at - ta pi - ia it - ti - šu ša - ak - na - a - ta "Thou my words \* with him establishest."

2nd pers. plural:---

( The rest of the

(part of an incantation against evil spirits).

3rd pers. sing. mas.:-

Sa - pi - in mâti nu - kur - ti. Ba - lat nap - har "He destroys † the hostile land." "The life of the whole of

3rd pers. sing. fem. :-

û - şur - ta - šu - nu lim - ni - it
"their shrine (dwelling place) is evil."

\* Lit. "mouth."

† Lit., "(He) destroying," or "Destroyer of."

3rd pers. plural mas.:-

a - na ša - a - ri fr - bit - ti me - lam - me sah - pu "to the four winds (their) glory they blow."

3rd pers. dual:-

From the above it will be seen that the terminations of the permansive are:—for the first pers. sing. ku, plur.  $\bar{a}ni$  or  $\bar{a}nu$ ; for the second pers. sing.  $\bar{a}ta$ , plur. tunu; for the third person sing. masc. u (or the construct form of the participle without any ending); fem. at, plur. masc.  $\bar{u}$ , fem.  $\bar{a}$ ; the dual-ending for both genders being a.

All the above forms are that of the participle, the short *i* of which is regularly dropped, but reappears when the word loses its vowelending or vowel of connection, hence the masc. šakin by the side of šaknu. Other participle-forms could be thus used, so that we find, besides those above given, such forms as sibriku, "I was young," limnit, "she is evil." From these two examples it would seem that the form she is evil, which is rather rare, was used for verbs expressing a condition is for those expressing an action, or the result of an action.\*

The permansive or perfect tense in Assyrian differs from those of the other Semitic languages in several ways. It has lost the form for the second person fem. singular and plural, but it retains the dual, restricted, however, to the third person. It differs from the Hebrew, Arabic, &c., and agrees with the Ethiopic, in having ku as the ending of the first person singular, but the t-stem is kept for the second person singular and plural. It is worthy of notice that in the second person singular the two forms of ending, āta and āti, are used indifferently for both masculine and feminine, and that the distinctive form of the

feminine plural also has not yet been found. It has been conjectured that the feminine form of the second person plural, following the analogy of šunu, "they," fem. šina, should be -tina (šaknatina). Šunu and šina, however, belong to a different class, being quite independent pronouns, and we should therefore expect, if anything, a formation analogous with that of those Semitic tongues,\* in which the root t-m is used for the masculine and t-n for the feminine (בَבَוֹבֵי, בְּבַבִּילִי, בְּבַבִּילִי, בְּבַבִּילִי, but in Assyrian the t-n stem is used for the masculine—a fact which rather implies that, as in the singular, one form (namely tunu) is used to express both genders also in the plural.† As will be seen farther on, the plural of the imperative, as well as the second person plural of the aorist and present tenses, had also only one form for both genders.

The third person of the permansive, in all its genders and numbers, is only the participle, or nomen verbi, with its proper endings. The forms  $\delta aknu$  and  $\delta akin$  are respectively the nominative and construct forms of the masculine;  $\delta aknat$  is the construct of the feminine singular;  $\delta akn\bar{u}$ , the plural form (usually defectively written with short u), is evidently shortened from the rarer form ending in  $-\bar{u}ni$ , an old nominal plural, of which some traces exist (as for example llinim, "bulls"), but which is regularly shortened to -u (compare such words as  $\ell m\bar{u}$  rabûtum, "great days," ana  $\ell m\bar{u}$  gamrūti, "for complete prices," &c).\(\frac{1}{2}\) Examples of the feminine form ending in -a are rare, but one is to be found in Tiglath-pileser I, col. VI, line 99, in the word 'abta (written a-ab-ta), permansive of 'abātu, "to be destroyed," and refers to the word  $\ell kallate$ , "palaces," a feminine plural, in line 94. (The dual ending in -a is the usual masculine or feminine

<sup>\*</sup> The Aramaic and Samaritan masculine endings ארן were probably formed under the Babylonian influence.

<sup>†</sup> The pronoun of the second person plural, attunu, "ye," shows the same stem with the syllable an (the n of which, as in Hebrew, &c., is assimilated to the following t). This form is usually masculine, but in W.A.I. IV, pl. 56, l. 38, seems to refer to the feminine éraitum, "earth," thus indicating that it was of common gender. If this be the case, it is the same also for the suffixed pronoun kunu, "you," which, though used for the masculine, corresponds with the Arabic and Hebrew feminine forms and Hebrew feminine forms (See l. 37 of the text above quoted.)

<sup>‡</sup> Sayce, "Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes," p. 122. It is not unlikely, however, that this is only an imitation of the Akkadian idiom, in which the adjective alone takes the termination of the plural.

nominal form, used for such objects as, either by nature or art, are in pairs.) The feminine plural ending  $-\bar{a}$  is evidently a form shortened from an old fem. plural of the participle šaknānu, in the same way as the masculine šaknū, from šaknūni. Using, perhaps from the earliest times, these participle forms as a permansive, followed by the full form of the first and second persons where needed, there grew up this new tense with the pronouns, shortened as much as possible, attached. The indifferent use of -āta and -āti as second person singular, implies that at that time the difference of the forms of the pronoun in -a and -i (atta (m.) atti (f.) "thou") had ceased to be regarded, and therefore the form ending in -ata could be used, by preference, to express both genders. The diverse ways, in the various Semitic languages, of forming this permansive or perfect tense, implies that its full development took place after the separation of the different dialects, though, as it is found in all the Semitic languages, the inclination to this formation had already existed for a very long time.

Like šakānu is conjugated in the permansive: takālu, "to trust;" raḥāṣu, "to trust;" magāru, "to obey;" tamāḥu, "to hold;" katāmu, "to cover," &c., &c. Ṣabātu, "to seize," makes, in the third pers. sing. masc.: ṣabat.

Like lamānu: ṣaḥāru, "to be young, little;" nakāsu, "to be cut off," "separated."

Like  $k\hat{a}nu$ :  $\hat{s}aru$ , "to be supreme;"  $n\hat{a}hu$ , "to rest." Some words have a as inner vowel, as  $\hat{t}aba$ , "they two are good," others u, as  $\hat{r}akat$ , "she is remote" (verb originally Ayin-guttural).

Like nasû: ramû, "to set;" like têbû: şêbû, "to assemble."

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, December 5th, 1882, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

By Rev. W. H. Sewell:—"Houses and Householders of Palestine at the time of Christ."

# THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
Vols. I—III (Brugsch). Vol. IV, in 2 parts (Dümichen).
DUMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 2nd series, 1869.
1st series, 1867.
Altaegyptische Kalender Inschriften, 1866.
Tempel Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
Königsbuch der Alten Aegypter. 4to., 1858.
DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, Five Great Monarchies. 3 vols.
6th and 7th do.
—————— History of Egypt. 2 vol. 1882.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841-1852.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (Text only.)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862-1873.
L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and II, 1874 and 1875.
Maspero, Du genre epistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'epoque
Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
8vo. Paris, 1872.
RHIND A H Thebes: its Tombs and Tenants 1862

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# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

# THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1882-83.

Second Meeting, 5th December, 1882.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.



The President referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of one of its oldest Vice-Presidents, The Right Hon. the Earl of Harrowby, K.G., &c., &c.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. IV, No. 1. 8vo. November, 1882.

From the Geological Society:—Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXVIII. Part 4. No. 152. November 1, 1882.

— List of Fellows. November, 1882. 8vo. London. 1882. From the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XVII. Part 1. 8vo. Shanghai. 1882.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings.

Session 1882 83. Nos. 2 and 3. 4to. London. 1882.

[No. xxxiv.]

33

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Transactions, Session 1879-80. 4to. 1880.

---- Proceedings, 1879-80. 4to. 1880.

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—
The Journal. Vol. XII. No. 2. November, 1882. 8vo.
London.

From the Philosophical Society of Glasgow:—The Proceedings, 1881-82. Vol. XII. No. 2. 8vo. Glasgow. 1882.

From the Publishers, Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co.:—The Cities of Egypt. By Reginald Stuart Poole. 8vo. London. 1882.

From the Author:—Die französischen Ausgrabungen in Chaldäa. Von Julius Oppert.

Reprinted from the Report of the Fifth Oriental Congress. Berlin. 8vo. 1882.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

The Temples of the Jews and the other Buildings in the Haram Area at Jerusalem. By James Fergusson, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. London. 4to. 1878.

Description of the House and Museum of Sir John Soane. 4to. London. 1830.

The Land of Midian (revisited). By Richard F. Burton. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1879.

Les Villes retrouvées. Par Georges Hanno. Thèbes d'Égypte, Ninive, Babylone, Troie, Carthage, Pompei, Herculanum. Paris. (Bibliothèque des Merveilles.) 8vo. 1881.

Les Tombeaux. Par Lucien Augé. Paris. (Bibliothèque des Merveilles.) 1879.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 9th, 1883:—

Miss H. M. Adair, 40, Chester Terrace, N.W.

George Briddle, 208, South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Miss Dixon, 47, Thurloe Square, South Kensington, S.W.

Rev. Alexander James Harrison, D.D., Ph.D., &c., Waterfoot Vicarage, Manchester.

Rev. R. Lovett, Religious Tract Society, 56, Paternoster Row, E.C. D. G. Lyon, Petersteinweg, 51, III, Leipzig.

The following were duly elected Members of the Society:-

Eugène Autran, Les Charmelles, Geneva.

Captain C. R. Conder, Devon Cottage, Guildford, Surrey.

Rev. Canon John Grainger, D.D., M.R.I.A., Broughshane, Co. Antrim.

Thomas S. Jago, H.B. Majesty's Consul, Jeddah.

Rev. H. C. Reichardt, Tunis.

Thos. Wilberforce Stoughton, Lynton Villa, Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood.

Charles Alfred Swinburne, Upper Hamilton Terrace, St. John's Wood.

Frederick A. White, Kinross House, Cromwell Road, S.W.

Howell Wills, The Temple.

Coventry A. Woodhouse, 9, Pembridge Crescent, Bayswater, W.

### To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Weston-super-Mare Church Institute.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle de Paris, 35, Rue de Tréves, Paris.

A Paper was read "On the Houses and Householders of Palestine in the time of Christ," by the Rev. W. H. Sewell.

After some introductory remarks respecting the four kinds of building stone in Palestine, and the method of *hewing* it by skilled stone-hewers; and after pointing out the difference between the Levantine large inn or khan, and the smaller rest-house—two buildings in general use by travellers,

Mr. Sewell described the *one-roomed house* of stone of a village, distinguishing two sorts; one sort having half the interior used by beasts of burden; the other sort having wholly separate and apart such stabling and offices, both for dead and live stock, as are mentioned in the Bible. The *court house*, which was defined to mean a house enclosing at least one court or courtyard open to the air, was next described, especially that occupied by Caiaphas.

Prætorium, the name given to Pilate's Court-house, as well as to others, was explained, and an exactly-corresponding English equivalent

stated. After adverting to the prison house at Philippi, which had a resident jailor, and in Jerusalem to the prison house without one, occupied A.D. 32 by the Twelve Apostles, and A.D. 43 perhaps by Peter also, which had inner and outer wards as well as an iron-plated outside door, Mr. Sewell briefly referred to the palaces of the Bible, namely, places of worship, royal residences, and public He next defined the English terms colonnade, arcade, porch, and cloister, and proceeded to notice certain terms used in the New Testament for shelters from the weather and for entrances into places, and explained what he believed was meant by stoa, pyle, pylônes, and pylæ. He commenced describing an ordinary court-house in the time of Christ by drawing attention to the house porch (pylon), which was either constructed with a door, or was arched, and without one. The rooms of an ordinary house were shown to be chiefly two: one the large reception-room, used also as the guest-chamber, large enough to hold 30 guests on the occasion of the feast which Samuel made for King Saul; the other, the closet, was a small but habitable room, like the Royal Closet at Windsor. In Palestine the closet served as a bedroom, a bride-chamber, a sickroom, a strong-room; and though usually small and closet-like, sometimes had itself a closet. Micaiah announced that Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah would have to conceal himself in a closet's closet.

The housetop, or roof that is flat, was next referred to, and shown to be usual in every part of the Levant. On it was the summerhouse, (Heb. aliyyah, Greek hyperdon) usually the best room of the house. This, a most important term of the domestic architecture of the Greek Testament, was specially noticed and illustrated. was justified by reference to the handsome summerhouses erected in different parts of the Royal Gardens, Kew; its appearance and position were compared with the upper part of the Radcliffe Observatory. Oxford, as seen in 1854. The summerhouse was shown to have been used by King Eglon for taking a siesta by day; by King David for retirement in sorrow; by the Apostles for divine worship; by St. Paul for the celebration of Holy Communion; by St. Peter for private prayer, as well as for the repose of the dead body of a Christian lady, Tabitha. The description of the houses of the Holy Land terminated with a reference to the windows of a house; and to the relative parts of a room, in which was pointed out the place of honour.

Mr. Sewell concluded his paper by treating of the inhabitants of the Holy Land, whom he divided into three classes: Cavedwellers, found between the Lake of Galilee and the Hauran, and the Horites of Petra. Tent-dwellers, namely—

Children of Hagar, Abraham's Egyptian handmaid;

Children of Ishmael, Abraham's son by Hagar;

Children of Kedar, Abraham's grandson by Hagar;

Children of Midian, Abraham's son by Keturah, and Arabians, whom Mr. Sewell believes to be all descendants of one common ancestor, and the Bedawin their surviving posterity.

With respect to Housedwellers, after pointing out that the housedwelling population of Palestine never took to tents except once yearly, at the Feast of Tabernacles, and in the time of war, of pilgrimage, and crowded gatherings, Mr. Sewell gave the names of known house-owners, the sites of their houses, and the social position taken by such householders in the time of Christ; and inferred from the style in which their houses were furnished, the costly and extensive wardrobes people kept; their jewellery and precious stones; the populousness of their household establishments, ruled as they were by highly paid and powerful officials, and by the sumptuousness and frequency of their feasts, that the countrymen of Christ were possessed of great wealth.

DR. REICHARDT wished to point out one or two instances in which he thought Mr. Sewell was wrong in his conclusions. With reference to the Summer House, he mentioned that with a temperature of between 90 and 110 degrees in the shade, some cooler place would be required than the top of a house, burning with the concentrated rays of a hot sun. In the heat of the day the natives sought a cooler place—the coolest place to be found—i.e., the room in the lower part of the house, built of stone, sometimes with a floor of marble, fountains, &c. Such rooms Dr. Reichardt took to be the Summer House, and they are used for the siesta; from this room, in the cooler part of the day, the natives migrate to another chamber, where they smoke, drink coffee, and sleep.

Houses were not always exactly the same in arrangement, but the Summer House is always the Khan.\* One-roomed houses were not to be found in the cities, but in the villages, and Dr. Reichardt

<sup>\*</sup> Kaa'a in Damascus ; Mundarah in Cairo.

thought that as matters moved slowly in the East, it was probable that the houses are now pretty much the same as they were in the time of Abraham. It was also his opinion that the old ruins being of stone, and of the Roman and Greek periods, it was most probable that the houses of the rich were of stone and those of the poor of mud.

The Rev. A Löwy observed that in the Hebrew Scriptures there were three terms relating to house or habitation which, in part, were connected with the identical Aryan names.

Ba-yith (house) is purely Semitic, and recurs in all the languages akin to Hebrew; but it is remarkable that whilst in Hebrew the verb "to lodge" is expressed by lan, the other Semitic languages employ the vocable bath, which originally meant "to be housed." In the Aramaic version of the Pentateuch, Onkelos, in his rendering of Genesis xxviii, 11, employs (with regard to Jacob's night rest on the uncovered ground) u-BATHtamman. This general employment of the word bath, in the sense of "spending the night in some place," proves that before the Semites were split up into different nations, they employed the ba-yith or batt principally to describe night lodgings.

A second term for habitation is ma'on. The word is employed poetically with regard to the heavens as the habitation of the Deity (see Deuteronomy, xxvi, 15, "Look down from Thy holy habitation, from heaven"). The same term was employed by Semitic pagans, who worshipped the Baal ma'on (see Numbers xxxii, 38). This word appears to correspond with the Pehlevi term méhan, with maethana or maethanya in the Zendavesta, and it recurs in the Latin mansio. The third term hanah was chiefly employed with regard to encamp-In Isaiah xxix, 1, however, occurs the phrase kiryath hana ments. David, which seems to admit of the literal translation, "the city of the hana (or habitation) of David." Just because hana is here treated like a proper name, it did not receive the ordinary genitival th. As a verb hana, and as a noun mahaneh, this vocable is met with in numberless instances throughout the Hebrew Bible. In the Pehlevi it has the form of khânuk, and in modern Persian hâneh.

With regard to the structure of Jewish houses in Palestine, Mr. Löwy suggested that in the course of a thousand or fifteen hundred years radical changes must have been introduced in consequence of the intercourse of the Israelites with foreign nations.

Captives returning to the land of their fathers, and foreign settlers, who at a later period introduced Greek and Roman fashions in the Holy Land, must have very materially affected the taste of the Jewish inhabitants, especially in the principal cities. The poverty of the poorer classes might well make them adhere to a conservative principle of simplicity; but the wealthier portion eagerly adopted the architectural display of the Greeks and the Romans. Were it not the fact that Josephus gives glowing accounts of beautiful buildings raised in the style of Greek architecture, or that the ancient expounders of the Pentateuch protested against the extravagance in the erection of theatres, balnea, &c., it might be seen in the pages of the Mishna that the terms relating to common buildings are of a purely Semitic origin; but those terms which relate to palatial structures are chiefly derived from Greek or Latin. As instances, Mr. Löwy cited the Rabbinical term akhsadra, a hall or ante-room (in Greek εξέδρα, in Latin exedra); prosdor, a vestibule, apparently connected with the Greek προδυρον; traklin, a dining room, from triclinium.

REV. W. WRIGHT, D.D., referred to the classification of the races made by Mr. Sewell. He thought that the proper division was the Bedawin, or desert-dwellers, the Fellaheen, or cultivators of the soil who lived in village's, and the dwellers in cities. Although there were, as in all countries of the East, men who took up their residence in caves, he (Dr. Wright) had seen very few, and there really was no distinct class that could be called cave-dwellers. Near the Yarmouk Valley, and in a few other places, there were a few families living in subterranean places through necessity. He had spent nights in such places himself through necessity, but he could hardly be called a troglodite. Too much stress must not be laid on the word rich man The riches of a man was a comparative term: £30,000in the East. would, in Damascus, entitle a man to be called rich, whereas in some places so small a sum as  $f_{30}$  would make a man rich. The tracing of all tent-dwellers to Abraham could not be accepted. Abraham reached the Land of Promise "the Canaanite was then in the land," and the Bedawins were then in the desert.

The President, the Rev. Charles J. Ball, and Mr. G. Bertin, joined in the discussion, and Mr. Theo. G. Pinches added some remarks on recently discovered tablets giving interesting particulars of the laws of house-holding among the Assyrians. These will be submitted to the Society at a future meeting.

MR. SEWELL, in reply, admitted that owing to the oppressed state and misgovernment of Palestine, such noble summerhouses of stone as that shown in Messrs. Arundell and Tarte's diagram were no longer common; although humble representatives of them are still to be A traveller visiting the Armenian Convent at frequently seen. Jerusalem in January, 1882, saw the cells of the monks opening upon the housetop. Shelters of the sort, peculiarly shaped like the lower halves of the English capital letter M, are to this day common enough on the housetops in Egypt. In prosperous times such summerhouses would not be (as often at present) mere boughs of oleander intertwined like wickerwork, or light awnings, beneath which probably few Orientals, if any, would shelter themselves from the heat of the blazing noonday sun. These hyperba would, by rich people, be built of stone substantially, of thick walls, yet through-aired ( In Jer. xxii, 14), cool, and suited for taking a siesta; a use to which King Eglon's hyperbon seems certainly to have been put. It was necessary to go up to an hyperoon (LXX, 2 Ki, xviii, 33; Acts i, 13; ix, 37, 39); to carry an object up to it (LXX, 3 Ki, xvii, 19); and likewise necessary to go down from an hyperoon (Tobit iii, 18); to carry an object down from it (LXX, 3 Ki, xvii, 23).

With regard to the suggestion that, in a two-storied Syrian house (not a common sort of ancient building, to judge by the remains), the interpretation (which is the Septuagint term for 17.72) was not the modern alliyeh, but really the modern arrived or First Floor, the matter stood thus:—

King Eglon was found by his attendants "fallen down dead upon the earth" (Judg. iii, 25). It was admitted that the king was in some elevated structure of or belonging to the house. It would scarcely be natural to term the stone floor of a first story room "the earth." As however the flat roofs or housetops now are, and probably always were, made up of consolidated earth, it would, on the contrary, be most natural to say of a slain man fallen upon such a housetop, that he "was fallen down dead on the earth"  $(\epsilon \pi i \ \tau i) \nu \ \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu$ .

Thanks were returned for these communications.

DR. REICHARDT exhibited a cylinder-seal, upon which he made some remarks, to be published with an engraving in a future number of the *Proceedings*.



Cuneiform Inscription at Kaisarizeh.

The following Communication has been received:---

THE KAPPADOKIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION NOW AT KAISARIYEH.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In 1880 Sir Charles Wilson forwarded to me a copy of an inscription which he had come across at Kaisarieh, and which he thought might possibly turn out to be Hittite. The copy, however, was not sufficiently distinct to allow me to pronounce an opinion upon the characters of which it was composed; all I could see was that it consisted of five lines, divided from one another by straight lines, just as Hittite texts are. When I was at Smyrna in March, 1881, Mr. W. M. Ramsay put into my hands a rubbing of the inscription made by Sir C. Wilson, but I was still unable to make out what the characters composing it were. I could only assert that they were not Hittite, and suggest that they had a Gnostic origin.

Last summer, however, Mr. Ramsay himself, when at Kaisarieh, examined the stone on which the inscription is found, and made a copy both of the sculptures and of the inscription with which it is adorned, besides a squeeze of the inscription. This and his copy he sent me, and I at once recognized that the characters were those of the Assyrian cuneiform syllabary, though of a very barbarous type. Shortly afterwards I received another squeeze of the same inscription from Dr. Gwyther; and this it is which is published in the present number of the *Proceedings*.

I learn from Mr. Ramsay that the stone on which the inscription is engraved was discovered many years ago along with another at a village between Amasia and Amisos (Samsan), and was purchased there by an Armenian. The village may perhaps have been Zilleh (the ancient Zela), where the artificial mound called the tumulus of Semiramis by Strabo still exists. The stones are both of white marble, stained black on the surface, and belong to the same curious type of art. One of them has a short inscription in characters unlike any I have seen before. The art is of the strangest possible kind. Heads like those on Greek medallions, says Mr. Ramsay, but hideously ugly, "are mingled with the most curious imagery;—a column with a crowned woman's head, the crown being bitten by a serpent, which is coiled round another column; a crescent moon and rayed star; a hideous woman standing on a pedestal, and holding a naked child, crowned like herself, suspended from each hand." The stone, how-

ever, on which the cuneiform inscription is incised bears a sculpture of a much more important character. This is engraved under the inscription, and represents a king seated in the Assyrian style, with his fan-bearers behind him, and his attendants bringing a body of captives before him. The latter, remarks Mr. Ramsay, "wear the dress represented in the sculptures of Phrygia, while the costume of the king and his attendants is distinctly Hittite." It is the dress which has been made familiar to us by the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, of Ibreez and Karabel, to which we must now add, thanks to Dr. Gwyther's photographs, of Carchemish also. The seated monarch is touching the forehead of a crouching captive with the butt end of his spear. It is plain that the capture of some town and the submission of its inhabitants are depicted, and that the inscription above the scene ought to have reference to the event.

The barbarous character of the writing, and the fact that the inscription has been worn away in the top corner on the right hand side, while a crack runs through the middle of it, make it somewhat difficult to read. The difficulty is increased by our ignorance of the language in which it is written. The ideographs and determinatives in it, however, are sufficiently clear to show what its general purport must be. I should transcribe it thus in ordinary Assyrian characters:—

- I. ⟨|- | → | → ? → | ⟨|- → | → ... D.P. D.P. Tar-\*- ti si .... Before Tar-\* tisi the king
- D.P. Gu za na \* me ka of the land of Guzana .....

I am specially pleased to find mention made of "the god Tar," as it goes to verify my system of Hittite decipherment. discovery of the name in this inscription I had concluded that a god Tar must have existed by the side of Tar-kus, "the son of Tar," just as Sandan (or Sanda) exists by the side of Sanda-kos. The character which follows the name of Tar is unfortunately doubtful. It may possibly be meant for Assistant or dun, or for the Babylonian form of two. The land of Guzana, mentioned in the second line, is not otherwise known, but it will have been the native name of the northern district of Kappadokia in which the inscription was found. The crack in the stone makes it impossible to identify the character which follows. In the third line the characters la-khi are very doubtful, as one character only seems intended, not two. Instead of Ka-ab, we might read Ka-su-ab, breaking the first character into two; but I do not think this is likely. At the beginning of the next line the division of the characters causes a difficulty. We might read = \ \ \ \ iz-kha or even = \ \ un. The crack renders my restoration of the next two characters uncertain. Erime in the last line ought. according to analogy, to be the third person singular of a verb. Now ma seems to be the suffix of this person in the two Kappadokian cuneiform contract tablets brought to light last year by Mr. Pinches, to which Mr. Ramsay's visit to Kaisarieh last summer has now added five more (see Proceedings, Dec., 1881, p. 36). Moreover, if my system of decipherment is right, me is the suffix of the same person in the Hittite inscriptions, and, as I have shown on another occasion, everything goes to indicate that the Hittites were the "White Syrians" of Kappadokia, who lived in the neighbourhood of the spot where the inscription I have been discussing was discovered. If further proof of this fact were needed, it has been afforded by the photographs taken by Dr. Gwyther at Jerablûs and Merash. The style of art, the dress, and the attitude of the figures at Carchemish are those of the figures of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk. The Hittites came from the north, as their boots declare, and conquered a portion of the Semites in northern Syria; it is not surprising, therefore, that the ideograph they employed to denote "a country" resembles the mountain-peaks of central Kappadokia.

The forms of the characters used in this inscription of Tar-\*tis belong, as I have already said, to the syllabary of Nineveh. They must have been borrowed, therefore, before the overthrow of the Assyrian empire, and when the conquests of Sargon had extended Assyrian influence in Asia Minor. But their forms are so uncouth that it is plain this influence could not have been very far-reaching. The bilingual boss of Tarkondêmos had already informed us that the cuneiform mode of writing had been introduced into Asia Minor, though, as at Van, some of the characters had undergone slight modifications in the process.

The division of the lines, which we find also in the Kappadokian contract-tablets, is peculiar, and since it is characteristic of the Hittite inscriptions, while it is foreign to the Assyrian ones, it indicates that the people to whom both this inscription and the contract-tablets belong, had previously been familiar with the Hittite mode of writing. Another indication of the same fact may be found in the little upright line with which this inscription ends. It is, I believe, a representative of the little line which is placed at the end of a paragraph in the Hittite texts.

By way of appendix I would return to the cuneiform inscription which I copied at Smyrna on a small gryphon's head from Kappadokia, published in the *Proceedings* of this Society for Nov., 1881, p. 19). It was brought to Smyrna along with a hæmatite cylinder, now in my possession, with a cuneiform inscription upon it which I am unable to read, and it is now, I believe, in the Louvre. The characters are those of the Amardian or "Proto-Medic" syllabary, with the exception of one, MEN dhu, which belongs to the later Babylonian. The inscription reads as follows:—

YYE FETE FYTY F YYEY Y-Ku - ar - hu - man the king Man-dhu - mas,

that is to say, "Kwaruman the king, the Mandhumian." How the Amardian syllabary found its way into Kappadokia is more than I can conjecture. It can hardly have done so except during the reign of Kyros.

A. H. SAYCE.

Queen's College, Oxford, Oct. 23rd, 1882.

NOTE.—I must mention that owing to the shallowness of the characters on the front of the squeeze, the back had to be photographed and then reversed. This gives to the lines and characters on the plate of the inscription (to be issued with the *Proceedings* for January) the appearance of their being raised, whereas on the original stone they are of course *ineised*.—W.H.R.

#### DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Having been able, through your kindness, to examine the squeeze sent to Professor Sayce, of an inscription found by Mr. Ramsay, and the photograph, which will be published in the *Proceedings*, an explanation of the origin of the inscription has occurred to me.

This inscription is no doubt an attempt to reproduce cuneiform characters, but has, I think, been done by a most unskilful hand, and I fail to trace some of the characters Professor Sayce has transcribed. We learn from him that the inscription is on a marble slab; it would therefore be a stèle, and it must be noted that this would be the only instance known of a stèle with so small an inscription. The wedges, if they can be so called, are very irregularly chipped in all directions, though there seems to be an attempt at a slanting direction from right to left; the shapeless form of certain characters does not appear to proceed from want of skill of the writer, as in other cases he has made them in the direction required, and marble being a soft substance, the carving offered no difficulty. All seems therefore to show that we have here a forgery; but from what was it copied?

The small clay contract tablets are abundant in Turkey, and they have besides been multiplied by the Arabs by means of casting. The writing of these tablets is cursive; the wedges are therefore slanting, and on account of the form of the wooden style, assume a peculiar shape. Those who have studied and copied these contract tablets, will easily see that the wedges reproduced in the inscription now under discussion have been imitated from a contract tablet. This at once explains why the wedges are slanting and of so curious a shape, though they must have been picked out at random, for they appear to me to form no real groups composing what Assyriologists call characters. The straight lines which divide the rows of wedges are, I think, imitated from the seals, where such lines always occur. As to the figures represented on the stone, from what can be gathered from Professor Sayce's note, it seems that they are also imitated from those on seals and other Assyrian monuments.

I therefore think that this inscription ought to be classed with the so-called boss of Tarkondemos, and that it is premature to draw conclusions touching the intercourses of the Kappadokians, Hittites, and Assyrians, and the origin of a writing.

Besides, the figures represented do not help much, as archæologists are far from agreeing about the connection of the representations at Jerabis, Karabel, Boghaz Keui, and Eyuk.

Yours faithfully, G. BERTIN.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, January 9th, 1883, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Meeting transacted.

NOTE.—Members are reminded that their Subscriptions become due on January 1st, and should be sent to the Treasurer, B. T. BOSANQUET, ESQ., 73, Lombard Street, London, E.C.

# THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dumichen. (4 vols., and
the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
2nd series, 1869.
Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
Königsbuch der Alten Aegypter. 4to., 1858.
DE Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, Five Great Monarchies. 3 vols.
——————————————————————————————————————
History of Egypt. 2 vols. 1882.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841-1852.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (Text only.)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. 1862-1873.
L'Égyptologie. Tomes I and H, 1874 and 1875.
MASPERO, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque
Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
8vo. Paris, 1872.
RHIND, A. H., Thebes: its Tombs and Tenants. 1862.

64

### **PROCEEDINGS**





## THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1882-83.

Seventh Meeting, 1st May, 1883.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

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The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1882-83. Nos. 12 and 13. 4to. London. 1883.

From the Royal Archæological Institute:—The Archæological Journal. No. 157. Vol. XL. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement, April, 1883. 8vo. London.

From George Perrot:—Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie, d'une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont. Exécutée en 1861, et publiée sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Par Georges Perrot, Edmund Guillaume, et Jules Delbet. Folio. 2 vols. Paris. 1872.

From the Author, R. V. Lanzone:—Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia. Terza Dispensa. Con LXXX Tavole. Ptah to Nehebka. 4to. Torino. 1883.

From the Author:—Eridanus: River and Constellation. By Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A. 4to. London. 1883.

[No. xxxix.]

From the Author:—Sceaux Hittites en terre cuite. Par M. G. Perrot. Extrait de la *Revue Archéologique*, Decembre, 1882. 8vo. Paris. 1882.

From Robert Bagster:—The Pentateuch according to the Talmud: Genesis, with a Talmudical Commentary. By Paul Isaac Hershon. 8vo. London. 1883.

A special vote of thanks was awarded to M. G. Perrot for his donation to the Library.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens. Traduction complète. D'après le Papyrus de Turin et les Manuscrits du Louvre.

Accompagnée de Notes et suivie d'un index analytique. Par

Paul Pierret. 8vo. Paris. 1882.

Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions. By Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D. 8vo. London. 1852.

Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants. By A. Henry Rhind. 8vo. London. 1862.

The following were nominated for election at the next meeting:—

Rev. Joseph Chotzner, Harrow-on-the-Hill.

Charles Compigné, 114, Kennington Park Road, S.E.

Rev. John Gott, D.D., Leeds.

W. R. Harper, Ph.D., Morgan Park, near Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A. Henry Lumley, 31, St. James's Street, W.

### The following were elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. A. Dutau, S.J., 10, Boulevard d'Enfer, Paris.

James Cutliffe Marshall, Fenton Hall, Stoke-on-Trent.

Claude A. Montefiore, 18, Portman Square, W.

J. Lancaster Ranking, Surgeon-General, Wilford Lodge, Leamington. Lady Sitwell, Renishaw Hall, Derbyshire.

Geo. Augustus Simcox, M.A., 1, Douro Place, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.

Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, 725, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

The communication entitled "Remarks on Ancient Babylonian Chronology," by F. Delitzsch, was withdrawn by the author

The Rev. A. Löwy read a paper by Rev. Dr. Placzek, "On Ancient Observations on the Flight of Pigeons."

In an important work (*Midrash Bereshith-rabba*, Ch. 39), the date of which is not later than the sixth century, I met with an observation which, even at that early date, was already received as an ancient opinion, and which bears upon the theory of evolution, more particularly upon the law applying to the variation of species. The fact, as stated in that Midrash, is as follows:—

"All other birds rest from their flight upon a tree or a rock; but the doves, when weary in their course, alternately keep one wing (expanded) in repose, and sweep along on the other wing."

This passage is adduced as an explanation of Psalm lv, verse 7 (in authorised version, v. 6): "Oh! that I had wings like a dove that I might both fly and rest." (אעופה ואשונה)

This peculiarity of keeping one wing in a state of repose would give to this class of birds in the struggle for life an inestimable advantage, and would inure it to a continuity of rapid flight whereby it could attain its object in the race for finding food, and for escaping from the feathered creatures of prey. This faculty, which is not mentioned in any special monograph, and which remained unknown to breeders of pigeons, appears to have been lost by the doves in the progress of domestication, no scope being left to the further development of the use of a single wing, because man undertook to provide the species both with food and with the care for its defence. The effect of this domestication would then be, that the muscular and osteogenic parts became reduced in force; for it is a providential arrangement that all creatures lose in the process of time what they do not actually require. This ancient notice I communicated to the late Charles Darwin, in consideration of the great importance which this master of the theory of development assigned in his various works, even to the slightest deviations in the structure and habits of pigeons (see especially the "Variation of Species," 1st chap., 6). In his reply, Darwin expressed a doubt as to the

mechanical possibility of this strange mode of flying.\* But to me, the alternating use of the wings on the part of the pigeons did not appear altogether improbable, and I applied to the distinguished physicist in Vienna, Dr. F. J. Pisko. My question was, "Do you consider that the account given of the distinctive process in the flight of the pigeon is compatible with aero-dynamic laws?" I received the following information:—

"I do not believe that pigeons were ever so constructed as to be able to advance in the air by means of the motion of a single wing. Theory and practice are driven hard to indicate how the flight with double wings can be explained, or miserably imitated. becomes far more difficult when applied to the flapping of a single At the utmost this one-sided action might be conceivable in cases of veering round in a turning motion as is done in rowing. But for this purpose the stern is employed. The purposes of rest would be absolutely unattainable. For, according to the law of the conservation of energy, the process of advancing, and in fact every locomotion, requires an adequate effort, whether the instrument be X or Y. No exertion can be dispensed with unless an equivalent sacrifice be made. An improved mechanism only helps to distribute the work better in regard to time and place. A motion with a single wing is decidedly more awkward than a symmetrical action by one pair or by more than one pair of wings, a fact with which everybody The phenomenon mentioned in the ancient work under notice was probably either ill-observed or not the result of any ocular perception. The fundamental law of modern mechanics is opposed to any such rest in the air, whilst fatigue must increase owing to the extended wing in repose. In the actual state of rest such a wing droops on the body. To keep the wing extended demands muscular action. Try whether it is not more fatiguing to keep one arm extended and work with the other, than to work with both arms symmetrically."

Not entirely satisfied by the foregoing opinion, I applied to the section for Aeronautical Technology, which is connected with the Austrian Society of Engineers and Architects, by the members of which it was constituted in December, 1880, Professor Charles Jenny being President, and Count Buonaccorsi di Pistoja being Secretary.

<sup>•</sup> He stated, "It appears to be impossible for a bird to use only one wing, without tumbling over and without losing its balance."

To this areopagus of qualified judges I submitted the present question. At a meeting held on 18th February, 1881, the subject was considered, and I received the following reply: "The flight of birds, not of pigeons only, under the assumption that one wing be immovably extended and the other perform the required movement, is, under certain conditions, on aero-dynamic principles, not impossible; for example, at evolutions, at changes of directions, at brief moments of accelerated flight, or of falling. Under ordinary conditions, however, a symmetrical motion is a fundamental factor in this case as in all other cases. A book of the 6th century, treating though incidentally of the circumstances in which natation in the air is performed, would be of great interest to the library of the aeronautical section."

Dr. Placzek contended that the mechanical possibility cannot be denied, that the pigeons, with their vigorous and agile apparatus for flying (one should remember the so-called jongleurs, tumblers, &c.), at one time possessed the distinct aptitude for obtaining rest in their flight, by expanding at some intervals the one wing, and floating along with the other.

The account given in the ancient Jewish record, which contains careful observations on the habits of pigeons, might be considered therefore to rest on true facts, and might furnish evidence for the variations of animals in an instance hitherto not sufficiently noticed.

Remarks were added by the Rev. Canon Beechey, Rev. W. Meade Jones, Rev. W. Wright, D.D., Rev. A. Löwy, and W. Boscawen.

The Secretary read a communication from M. Alexander Enmann, "On the Origin of the Cypriote Syllabary."

The decipherment of the Cypriote inscriptions was undoubtedly a great triumph of philology. Commenced by the late Mr. George Smith, it was pursued by the exertions of English, German, and American scholars. At present a full interpretation has been obtained of these monuments appearing so obscure to the first observers. The language of them turned out to be a Greek dialect, concealed under a strange form of writing. The existence of a syllabary as used by the Greeks is a very curious fact in itself, and it is not to be wondered at that the origin of it has afforded material for a discussion of the most interesting kind between Dr. Deecke and Professor Sayce. The former in an essay ("Der Ursprung der Kyprischen

Sylbenschrift," Strassburg, 1871) asserted the opinion that the Cypriote syllabary was a skilful transformation of characters taken out of the Assyrian cuneiform syllabary. This opinion is partly suggested by the fact that Cyprus was at one time subject to the Assyrian kings. On the other hand, Professor Sayce connected it with the writing of the Hittites, a people the importance of which in the history of ancient civilization can now only be imagined, but will be more clearly unveiled, perhaps, by the ceaseless efforts of Professor Sayce.

A new and highly interesting turn was given to the question when Professor Savce stated that some of the inscribed objects found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik betrayed an undeniable resemblance to Cypriote characters. His appendix to Dr. Schliemann's Ilios has supplied us with a large stock of new explanations. Taking a wider range, he stated that throughout Asia Minor a common syllabary once was in use; finally, he thought that owing to its having taken its origin from the Hittite hieroglyphics, Trojan and Cypriote writing were to be regarded only as branches of a common stock. The next task accordingly will be to trace the genealogy of the different local syllabaries. Writing being one of the chief outcomes of civilization. every research of this kind promises to throw new light on the forgotten civilisations of ancient Asia Minor, and their relations with each other. A particular interest is given by the hope of throwing some light, if it be possible, on the age and nationality of the ancient cities identified with the Troy of Homer. By the following remarks my only wish is to give a modest contribution to these questions. asking by what kind of juncture Cyprus might have been associated with the Troad, in order to effect the use of the same syllabary in either country.

Cilicia being the next part of the mainland, Professor Sayce most naturally thought that the syllabary might be carried from it into Cyprus. Now I venture to call attention to some facts pointing to a much more direct connection between the Troad and that far-distant island. Firstly, Teucer is said by legendary history to have founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus and the dynasty of its kings. The traditions about that hero are very divergent and confused. One conclusion, however, may be very distinctly drawn. Like Romulus and other heroes of the same kind, Teucer has to be considered as a name purposely invented in order to explain the name of a people. He was originally nothing more than an epony-

mical hero of the Teucrian people; therefore many of the traditions make him a legendary king of Troy. By others he became, in turn, a prince of the Athenian island of Salamis, a son of King Telamon. Evidently this is due to a wrong association of the name of the island with that of the Cypriote town. Explaining identities of name by making the one city a colony of the other, is a reasoning quite familiar to the Greek mind. In fact either of the places called Salamis took its name from a Phœnician root. Notwithstanding its being an error, the tradition in its present shape is equal in age to Greek literature. Already in the Iliad Teucer appears as a Greek hero. though the interpolator, vielding to a certain consciousness, made him only an illegitimate son of Telamon (IL, VIII, 284). The mention of Teucer shows with a certain evidence a Cypriote influence on Homeric poetry, which would be confirmed by the old traditions connecting Homer and his poetry with Cyprus. Further investigation has to render more suggestive our attempt to turn a Greek In full harmony with our presumption is hero into a Trojan king. a notice given by Cleonchos of Solve, a Cypriote author of the fourth century B.C. (Müller, "Fragm. Hist. Græc." III, 311, p. 25). At Salamis, he says, there existed an aristocratic class of inhabitants called reprives and pretending to be related with the people of the Γεργίδες, the latter being, as it is known, a branch of the Teucrian race. But what perhaps is still more deserving attention, is a Cypriote worship as recorded not only by literary testimony but also by that of the inscriptions found in the two sanctuaries of Idalium and Athienu. Casting a look at them, we observe the greater part are dedications to Greek deities, the names of Apollo 'Auurhaios and Apollo 'Yharns occuring most frequently.

It is not the place here to prove that the two most numerous series of Cypriote statues are not, as has been held by French archæologists, with rather hasty arguments, representations of kings and priests, but simply the offerings themselves alluded to by the dedicatory inscriptions. As Greek ex-votos ordinarily consisted of figures of deities, there is no objection to such a statement. Surely a closer inspection would render it almost a certainty, that the two long series of bearded heads, one helmeted, the other crowned with a wreath, ought to represent the two forms of Apollo mentioned above. Now what is most surprising and needful to be explained is the worship in one city and in one temple of two different forms of the same deity. The best explanation would be, as it seems,

to infer a συνοικισμός, the union of two populations into one community, both having worshipped its peculiar form of Apollo. colonies used to plant the deities of their metropolis on the newly gained soil. Thus the god of Amyclæ occurring in Cyprus shows the existence of a Peloponnesian colony, as suggested by Herodotus (VII, 90), and confirmed by the close connection between the Cypriote and Arcadian dialects. On the other hand, the worship of Apollo Hylates had its home at Hylæ, a little place of Æolian Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Magnesia, on the Mæander. according to Pausanias (IX, 37), was a sacred grotto with an old statue of the god at its entrance. It certainly cannot be a mere coincidence, that two inscriptions of Neo-Paphos (Vogüé, IV, 6, 7; Ahrens, 19, 20) contain dedications of a grotto to the same god, called here 'Απλῶν 'Αγήτωρ 'Υλατης. The surname 'Αγήτωρ, like 'Apxayérns, used to be given to deities, especially to Apollo, as a leader of an emigration.

To sum up all the points stated, there is sufficient evidence of a colony from the north-western corner of Asia Minor having passed to Cyprus, probably headed by a member of a Teucride dynasty Perhaps this dynasty had once ruled in the Troad over a native city. and had afterwards been incorporated with the Greek town aristocracy. At least a similar instance is afforded by the Teucrian towns of Skepsis and Gergis keeping at bay longer than the rest the warlike or peaceable intrusion of the Greeks. Yielding to them at last, the former native kings, under the democratic government, not only preserved certain privileges, but even their royal title (Herod., V, 122; Strabo, p. 607). Presuming in the case under consideration a similar development, it will the better enable us to understand why the Teucrides of Salamis turned their ancestor into a Greek hero, and how they could be surrounded by Γερθων as an aristocratic class. For in other cities, for instance at Miletus, the Gergithes, on the contrary, formed the body of the lower demos (Athenaus, XII, p. 523, F.).

As for the date of the settlement in Cyprus, we ought perhaps to look for the destruction of Magnesia by the Cimmerian invaders, or the rebuilding and new establishment of it by Ephesus and Miletus (Strabo), such incidents as those usually effecting emigrations in Greek commonwealths. Both events ought to be relegated to the first ten years of the seventh century. Salamis and its king are named for the first time in the list of King Assarhaddon (B.C. 681-669),

but, as it seems, they already were among the Cypriote tributaries of his predecessor, King Sargon (B.C. 704-681). The new settlers perhaps may have seized on the island on the hold of a voluntary submission to Assyria, struggling just then like the new comers against the powerful Phœnician towns. Whatever the cause of Assyrian rule may have been, the dates just pointed out agree not ill with each other, and make attainable a fairly reliable fixed point of Cypriote chronology. While Salamis seems to have been one starting-point of Cypriote Hellenism, another centre arose in the opposite corner of the island, at Paphos. The renown of its sanctuary celebrated in the Odyssey points to the great antiquity of this town. Other testimony is borne by the Iliad, telling us of a friendship and alliance of Cinyras with Agamemnon (II., XI, 20). There is no reason whatever to look upon this legendary ancestor of the Paphian kings as a representative of Phœnician rule, though it is held to be so by general opinion. Certainly the clear evidence given by the Iliad is much more to be trusted than the mass of contradicting traditions. not one of which dates from a time previous to Alexander the Great. Nor can Cinvras be associated with Phœnicia on account of any doubtful Semitic etymology. By alleging the friendship of Cinyras with Agamemnon, and consequently with Teucer, the poet did not intend anything else but friendly relations between kindred populations. The Cinyrades are kings of the Greek city of Paphos. Their part has to be inferred from that of the Teucrides. Very probably they were leaders of that Peloponnesian colony mentioned above. As these settlers spoke the dialects of the original races of the Peloponnesus, and worshipped the old god of Amyclæ, we do not hesitate to associate the settlement with the tide of colonization issuing from the Peloponnesus after the Spartans had at length conquered the valley of the Eurotas, and Amyclæ, its old capital.

As regards the colony from Asia Minor, it carried into Cyprus the culture of its home. Not only did they import their war-ships, and confer upon the highest peak of the island the very name of the seat of the gods ruling over the plain of the Troad, but they brought with them a still more important element of civilization—a system of writing adapted already to the Greek language. Certainly on the stage of development which the syllabary must have then reached, it may be considered as the standard Greek writing of that age, though its use seems to have been restricted to a small part of the Greek world. Its use in the Æolis lasted, as Professor Sayce has sug-

gested, till about B.C. 650, when it was superseded by the more perfectly formed Phœnician-Greek alphabet. The Æolians received the syllabary from their Asiatic neighbours belonging to the large Phrygian race. A curious mention is made of it by Cicero (De natura Deorum, III, 42), speaking of Phrygiæ litteræ, the inventor of which he calls Heracles. A further trace of the Lycian branch of it may be hidden in the curious passage of Homer (II., VI, 168). Certainly the meaning of it would be more properly understood as a recollection of some unintelligible system of writing, than a want of the knowledge of writing at all. The syllabary passing to Cyprus, was there preserved by the conservative customs of an insular population till the end of the fourth century B.C. On this account it forms no exception to the whole character of the Cypriote civilization. Political institutions, worship, as well as art, language not excepted, even the fashion of fighting battles, are alike features of the same Greek archaism remaining unaltered for centuries. This want of development may be taken partly as the result of the insular position, and partly on account of the people dwelling at the side of a foreign race. Macedonia may furnish a very similar instance. To look upon Cyprus, that isolated watch-post of Greek colonization—as it has been suggested by archæologists - as a gathering place whence, since olden times, Eastern civilization to a large extent has been brought westward to Greece, would be a very wrong idea of the distinguishing characteristics of Cypriote history. Nor would it be proper to regard this Greek culture as a mixed one, identifying it with the mingled Phoenician civilization. Isolated from the parent stock and the world's commerce, Cyprus does not appear upon the stage of the Hellenic world earlier than the reign of Evagoras and the age of Alexander. Since its expansion and amalgamation it took an important part at the Hellenization of the Eastern monarchies.

MR. Boscawen thought the origin of the Cypriote syllabary must be looked for in the mainland, probably about the Gulf of Antioch, and following Professor Sayce, he had selected about thirty characters, which he thought might be compared with those of the Hittite inscriptions. He was of opinion that there were two great tribes of Hittites, the one in the mountains of the north came down and captured the valleys, Carchemish being a conquest, and not the capital of either division. The form of writing had been, he considered, simplified by the southern race, the characters of the Hamath Stones being, as had already been pointed out by Professor

Sayce, a kind of hieratic form of other known inscriptions from the more northerly districts.

Dr. Birch differed from M. Enmann as to the statues found in Cyprus; he was of opinion that some were portraits, and not deities; and he thought there was no reason why they should not be representations of kings who were in power at the time the statues were executed.

Cypriote had proved to be a kind of Greek, and so far as he was able to judge, there did not appear to be the slightest similarity between the Cypriote syllabary and that called Hittite, in fact the latter appeared to have been used much in the same manner as the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Remarks were also added by Mr. Hyde Clarke and Mr. Bouverie-Pusey.

The President made some observations on two Ostraka, or slices of limestone formed for the purpose, inscribed with hieratic inscriptions.

These Ostraka are at present in Queen's College, Oxford, and photographs of them were laid before the meeting. They appear to have been used for drafts of documents before they were copied out fairly. Documents of various kinds have been found on these objects, occasionally copies of literary compositions. Various Ostraka have been published by different Egyptologists. The Ostraka in Queen's College consists of two pieces; the first, or largest of the two, has on one side thirteen lines of hieratic neatly written, and on the other side eleven lines of hieratic, written in a coarser hand.

The subject of the first thirteen lines is an address in the first person, apparently from a god, but is very obscure, and amongst the phrases which occur are the following, which seems to show that it is rather a portion of a composition than an entire separate composition: "I am a chief, the son of a chief. I am the issue proceeding from a god. I am (the one having) many forms; my forms are those of a god,"—showing that the person speaking is probably mythological, while other portions of the inscription seem to refer to the power exercised as mystic or magical.

The second Ostraka, also in hieratic, exhibits the same peculiarities, being well written on one side in a fine hand, which has seven lines, and six lines in a larger and coarser hand on the

reverse. The subject appears to be the issue of certain gifts, or rations of bread, beer, and other things, connected with a festival of Amen Ra. Amongst the things mentioned are four persons, one of whom went on his belly; other offerings are said to have been given to Isis, and mention is made of persons who went to offer.

Photographs of the Ostraka were exhibited, together with some original ones kindly brought to the meeting by Mr. Walter Myers; besides a carefully prepared slip of wood with a Greek inscription.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy.

Thanks were returned for these communications, and to Mr. Myers for the exhibition of the Ostraka.

The following communication has been received:-

DEAR SIR, April 9th, 1883.

In an interesting letter in the *Proceedings* for 6th June, 1882, in which Mr. Pinches discusses the Akkadian numerals, he says: "The word for 'five,' å, is well established, and is evidently the same as the word for 'hand,' 'fist,' or 'horn,' expressed by the sign [ ], to which the bilingual lists give the gloss a," and further: "The ås, used to express the number six, is, it will be noticed, the same as one form of the numeral for 'one.' This word is probably formed, however, by combining the two numerals 'five,' å, and 'one,' as, so that the distinction was made by pronouncing the vowel long."

It seems to me that a consideration of the origin of the method of counting employed may shed some additional light on both these words. The human body furnished the original units of measurement, as we still see plainly enough in our own language, to go no further, from such words as foot, ell, hand, finger, &c. So, also, as Mr. Pinches recognizes in his remarks on the numeral "five," the human body furnished in the hands the original counting-board. Two methods of using this counting-board have given rise to the two great systems of reckoning, the decimal and the duodecimal. Counting the fingers of one hand gives us five, the use of which, as the unit of reckoning, seems to be the first step towards the decimal system. The substitution of ten for five by the inclusion of the fingers on the other hand, gives that system complete. Similarly, with the duodecimal system, the first stage of development was the counting by sixes. Of this stage we find many curious marks in Assyrian and Babylonian,

taken, I suppose, from the Akkadian. So we have I kanu=6 ammâti, I talent=6 minæ, I sar=6 ner, &c. On the other hand, in reckoning larger amounts, instead of developing their seximal into a duodecimal system, they appear to have combined the seximal and decimal to form a sexagesimal system, as, for example, I soss=60, I ner=600, the division of a mina into sixty parts, &c. The "six" of these systems was, as I believe, like the "five" of the semi-decimal system, obtained by finger-counting, only in the one case the fingers were counted inclusive of the hand as a whole, and in the other case exclusive.

Mr. Pinches speaks of the sign as meaning "hand," "fist," or "horn." I should like to ask if the meaning "fist" is correct. We have that sign meaning apparently "hand," as the seat of power of the man, as the horn is of cattle. We have it used also in the same sense as we use "hand" or "side" in such expressions as "at his right hand," "by his side." But does that justify the meaning "fist?" Naturally the meaning best suited to the theory with reference to counting which I have suggested would be "the outspread hand," which would also best harmonize with the appearance of the sign in question, provided we are to seek for it a hieroglyphic origin; at the same time the meaning "fist" cannot be said to contradict my theory. If â, "five," meant "the outspread hand," it would be as though they counted from a closed hand on until all the fingers were spread out, and then closed them in order to count the whole hand as a sixth.

As to the numeral six, as, for which Mr. Pinches suggests a combination of a, "five," and as, "one;" supposing that the a is, as he suggests, to be regarded as long, is it not possible that it was a mere differentiation of as, "one," for the purpose of distinguishing the greater from the lesser unit? In decimal counting we have two units, the absolute or universal unit, "one," and the decimal unit, or unit of the system, "ten." So in seximal counting we have two units, "one" and "six." Perhaps, again, the a is not to be regarded as long, and as is the same for "one" and for "six," that is, for both the units. In connection with this last suggestion observe, moreover that the sign ( $\P$ ) for the sexagesimal unit "sixty," is the same as that for the absolute unit, "one."

JOHN P. PETERS.

The following communication has been received:—

#### My DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

PARIS, April 29th, 1883.

I must apologise for not having yet fulfilled my promise to you. I have often thought of sending a little note for the Society, and hope soon to be able to do so, but regret to say that the condition of my eyes prevents at present my doing any work by artificial light.

I have only received one cast of the Hittite inscriptions of the Vatican, and this one is extremely imperfect, but I expect a better one, and when it arrives shall be glad to communicate it to you.

I have read with great pleasure the articles by Mr. Pinches, which contain much that is very instructive. He has at his disposal in the British Museum a great deal of new and important matter. The tablets of Artaxerxes, published in the April number of the *Proceedings*, are of great interest; the "unknown" characters are, I venture to say, a kind of cursive Persian writing, and the name may be a Persian one. Several of the characters look like our Zendic characters, some others resemble Georgian, and one or two show Phœnician forms.

One or two points in the translation by Mr. Pinches seem to require alteration. The translation given "refined silver," cannot, I think, be explained by any Semitic root.\* In the work *Documens Juridiques*, p. 283, the same words used in texts of the Achæmenian period—kaspu qatū—I proved the translation to be "coined silver," from y, which has the meaning to engrave or sculpture. In the time of the Persians silver coins were already in existence in Babylon, and the expression used in the tablet refers to 68 drachmas in silver coins.

The characters "flesh," "loin," "arms," do not signify that the slave was branded or marked with the name of one of the sellers. It merely indicates that the female slave belonged, in body, legs, and arms, to the one named *E-sagilli-lilbir*. The slave, in case of sale and similar circumstances, was the property *ab indiviso* of the three persons, but was the mistress of the third, who enjoyed a sort of tenancy.

<sup>\*</sup> The root , from which our "alkali" is derived, signifies "to fry," which cannot, I think, be applied to silver.

The servant is *amat muti*, not as translated by Mr. Pinches, "the men's slave," which appears to be a superfluous sentence, but she is "the servant of the husband"—that is, a concubine.

The words mahru edinu do not, I consider, mean "have received," but on the contrary, "have paid and have made (the purchase) perfect." The seller had not given the money and the slave, but had handed the receipt (\*(\*) \*\* or the sibir (the "lib") of the Hebrew) over to Urmanū. I cannot help thinking that the characters read by Mr. Pinches \*(\*) \*\* a form I have not before met with, ought to be understood as above, and following the translation I gave (Journal Asiatique, 1880, June), be read "receipt."

The words nadin nisu lut-tim (l. 4 and 14) do not, I think, mean "the slave-dealer," but refer to the "seller who has in his possession the object sold."

Lastly, ina yuma paqari (l. 11) cannot, in my opinion, mean "the day of claim," made by the sellers, who have no claim to raise, although it is in their power to provoke the annulling of the agreement. This is the sense of paqar no, in a number of Babylonian contracts, where paqirānu evidently denotes the former owner. In the Michaux Stone, ana paqri la rasē signifies "in order not to permit an eviction." In this case the contract may have provided for the annulment of the purchase for a ostium redhibitorium on account of an essential defect, for which the new owner would be authorised to rescind the contract

Here is the translation which I propose:-

"E-saggil-lissi, son of Nabu-kuṣursu, Bel-ballitsu, son of Nidintu, and Ina E-saggil-lilbir, son of Bel-ederu, have in the free will of their mind, sold Istar-Babil-siminni,† their servant, who by body, loins, and arms, is addicted to the person of Ina-Esagil-lilbir, seller and tenant, son of Belederu, for r mina 8 drachmas in coined silver, the complete price made out, to Urmanū, son of Lisir.

"The receipt of 1 mina 8 drachmas in coined silver,‡ price of

- \* It cannot, I think, be kaspu, but an equivalent of  $\{V\}$   $\{V\}$ , a form often occurring in these contract tablets. I should like to see there kasap sal, "the price of the woman," but the sense would be against this reading.
- † Although Nana was one of the goddesses of Babylon, the text gives Istar. I read siminni, for the reading sininni, very correctly read by Mr. Pinches, gives no sense. The character, besides nin, may have the sound of min. The sense of the female name may be, "Istar of Babylon, hear me."
  - 1 £5 2s. of English money; if it should be the double mina, £10 4s.

Istar Babil-siminni, the servant-concubine, E-saggil-lissi, Bel-ballitsu, and Ina-Esaggil-lilbir, have given it into the hands of Urmanū, and have made [the purchase] perfect.

"If a rescinding action on the subject of Istar-Babil-siminni, the servant-concubine, should be successful,\* Esaggil-lissi, Bel-ballitsu, and Ina-Esaggil-lilbir, the seller and tenant, will lose the selling sum and give it back to Urmanū.

"Assessors: Bel-yupahhir, son of Bel-ballitśu; Bel-nadin, son of Iqubu [Jacob]; Nabu-iddanu, son of Nabu-Callitśu; Sua [Trib-habal, or Zumriya], son of Nadin; Nabu-ballitśu, son of Umas; Bel-esses, son of Samsai."

Here occurs a name in the unknown characters.

"Bel-banu, the actuary, son of Nabu-lusesi.

"Babylon, month of Adar, 11th day of the 23rd year of Artaxerxes,† king of the countries."

Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

J. OPPERT.

The following communication has been received from Dr. Birch:—

OSTRAKA OF THE REIGNS OF NERVA AND TRAJAN.

After the Cæsars the number of dated ostraka of the period of the Antonines, commencing from Nerva, becomes more numerous. Those of the reign of Trajan are especially so, and offer fresh points of interest. They are, however, often very difficult to read. It will, however, perhaps facilitate future inquirers, who can afterwards complete the series. M. Fröhner, to whom I have alluded in my former notice, has published some of Trajan in the Revue Archéologique, new series, Vol. XI, p. 425 and following, some of which had been published by Young and Franz. The taxation continued much the same in the reigns of Trajan, generally, however, increasing for the poll

<sup>\*</sup> Because she might be weak, sick, enceinte, or for any other reason. It is not expressly said that in that case the woman should be given back also; it may be that she remained in the possession of Urmanū.

<sup>† 442</sup> B.C.

or capitation-tax. The contractions, also, are similar, as v for  $\dot{v}\pi\epsilon\rho$ ;  $\chi$ ,  $\chi^{o}$  for  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho ov\alpha\xi\iota ov$ ;  $\lambda$ ,  $\lambda o^{\gamma}$  for  $\lambda\dot{o}\gamma ov$ ;  $\alpha\rho^{\chi}$  for  $\alpha\rho\gamma\nu\rho\iota ov$   $\pi\rho\alpha$ ,  $\pi\rho\alpha^{\kappa}$  for  $\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\kappa\tau\eta\rho$  or  $\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ ;  $\mu$ ,  $\mu\eta^{\tau}$  for  $\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\rho os$ ;  $\mu^{o}$  for  $\mu\epsilon\rho\dot{\sigma}\mu ov$ ;  $\hat{o}$  for  $\delta\epsilon\hat{i}$ ;  $\dot{\gamma}$  or a cipher like  $\beta$  for  $\delta\rho\dot{\alpha}\chi\mu$ . It will be observed that the  $\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\mu o-\phi\nu\lambda\dot{\alpha}\kappa\iota\alpha$ , or conservancy of the river, is mentioned in these reigns. The following are in the British Museum:—

Παπυρις Παπυρεος λινοπωλ δευτερου L Νερουα Καισαρος του κυριου επι λο<sup>γ</sup> τεσσαρες 4 δ δ αυτος τας λοιπας του Α L ή οκτω β η Ερμογενης πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα

5790 w.

"Papyris, son of Papyris, a linendraper, for the 2nd year of Nerva Cæsar the lord, 4 (drachmas) on account he owes the remaining eight of the 1st year. I Hermogenes the collector have written it."

This tile is of A.D. 97-8.

Διεγραψ Πετευρ . . . . Δ L Τραειανου . . . . αρ<sup>γ</sup> L ιβ . . . . Ερμογεν . . . .

5819 c.

"Peteur... has paid for the 1st year of Trajan 12 (drachmas) of silver. I Hermogenes have written it."

Another receipt for the "capitation-tax" paid by Harpaesis, son of Zmethis, has been published by Young, Hier., pl. 54, 15, and Franzius, in Boeckh. Corp. Inscr., No. 48-64. This tile, of A.D. 98, is very imperfect; the name of the ratepayer may be Papyris.

Αμμωνιος Πετορ ζμηθου πρά διεγραφ Παχνουδις Φενωφεος μ<sup>τ</sup> ..... ταχομτδηκιος <sup>τ</sup>υ ποτομοφυλ<sup>α</sup> μερισμου 4 β ....ς Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριου Επιφ ιθ. Αμμωνιος 4 β

5791 t.

"Ammonius, son of Petorzmethes, collector Pachnoubis, son of Phenopheus, whose mother is Thinpelia, has paid on account of the poll-tax assessment, 2 drachmas, the . . . . year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, the 19th of Epiphi. Ammonius has written it."

The word after  $\mu \epsilon \rho i \sigma \mu o \nu$  may possibly be a contraction for drachmas. The date is A.D. 99–100.

Διεγραψ Πατροςζηηθ Φενωφεος π λαογραφ β L Τραειανου Καισαρος του κυριου αρ<sup>γ</sup> 4ιζ Ερμογενης Αμμωνα<sup>τ</sup> πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα

5791 v.

"Patroszmethis, son of Phenopheus, has paid for the poll-tax of the 2nd year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 17 (drachmas) of silver. I Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, the collector, have written it."

The date is A.D. 99-100.

Διονυσίος και ...... σ και Πεχ $^{\omega}$ θ πρα $^{\kappa}$  αργυρίου δια Πανυβ διεγ $\hat{\rho}$  Πετορζμηθης Παμμωνα $^{\tau}$  Φενωφίος  $\mu^{0}$  δραχμας κτριτου ε Τραειανου Καισαρος αριστου του κυρίου Φαμενωθ  $\hat{\kappa}$ 

5790 w.

"Dionysius and . . . . . and Pechmonthes, collectors of silver by Panubtis. Petorzmethes, son of Pammonates, son of Phenophis, has paid for the assessment, 20 drachmas, of the 3rd year of Trajan Cæsar, the most excellent lord, the 20th Phamenoth."

This tile is of A.D. 101. It is the earliest appearance of the translation of Optimus Princeps, which first appears on the coins A.D. 106.

Αρπαησις Φενωφεος θιν δ λαογραφ Γ L Τραειανου του κυριου επι λο<sup>γ</sup> 4θ Ερμογενης

5791 W.

"Harpaesis, son of Phenopheus, (and) Thinpelia, on account of the poll-tax of the 3rd year of Trajan, on account, 9 (drachmas). Hermogenes."

Hermogenes is the name of the collector. The tile, as the preceding, is A.D. 101-102.

Διεγρα $\hat{\Psi}$  Πατρος μηθ Πεταιουπαιαι  $\hat{v}$  λαογρα $\hat{\phi}$  τριτου  $\hat{v}$  Τραιανου του κυριου επι λογ δεκα δυω  $\hat{g}$  ιε εχω ομοιως τας λυπας  $\hat{f}$  ε δια Νιγερατος

5790 k.

"Patroszmethes, son of Petaioupaias, has acquitted for the polltax of the 3rd year of Trajan, the lord, on account, 12 drachmas. I have also the remaining 5 by Nigeras or Niger."

The date is about A.D. 102.

Here, as elsewhere, λυπας for λοιπάς.

Διεγραψ Παπυρις Παπυρι<sup>ο</sup>ς λινοπωλης ή λασγραφ τεταρτου L Τραιανου του κυριου τας λυπ ήθ Ερμογενης εγραψα

5790 m.

"Papyris, son of Papyris, the linendraper, has acquitted for the poll-tax of the 4th year of Trajan, the lord, the remaining 9 drachmas. I Hermogenes have written it."

Πετορζμη<sup>θ</sup> Πετιιου δ λαογραφ τεταρτου L Τραιανου του κυριου επι λο<sup>γ</sup> οκτω β η̂ διεγραψε τεσσαρας β δ αυτος τας λυπας ε Ερμογενης πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα

5790 y.

"Petorzmethis, son of Petaioupaias, for the poll-tax of the 4th year of Trajan, the lord, on account, 8 (drachmas); he has paid 4; he owes the rest. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written this."

This tile is of A.D. 101-102.

Αρπαησις Θρακιδας 
δ λαογραφ τεταρτου

L Τραειανου του κυριου 
επι λογ οκτω ή η 
ομοιως οκτω β η 
δ αυτος τας λυπας α 
Ερμογενης πρα 
εγραψα

5788 f.

"Harpaesis, son of Thrakis, for the poll-tax of the 4th year of Trajan, the lord, on account, 8 (drachmas), likewise 8 drachmas he owes the rest one. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it."

Harpaesis still appears to have owed I drachma, probably mentioned in the sixth line. The form Θρακίδας on some ostraka appears as Θρακίδος, so that the name of the mother may be Thrakis.

This tile is illegible in parts, and is of the same date as the preceding.

Διεγρα $\hat{\Psi}$  Πυπυρις Παπυρ<sup>§</sup>  $\chi^0$  Ε L Τραειανου του κυριου επι  $\lambda$ ο δ

5790 t.

"Papyris, son of Papyrus, on account of the workman's-tax, the 5th year of Trajan, the lord, on account, 4 drachmas."

127

This is of A.D. 102-103.

Δεγραψ Παχνουδις Θρακιδος δ λαογραφ πεμτου L Τραειανου του κυριου δραχμας οκτω ήη δ επικαρσιου ομοιως τρις ήη δ αυτος τος λυπας ή Ερμογενης πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα

5790 m.

"Pachnoubis, son of Thrakis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 5th year of Trajan, 8 drachmas, and for the indirect likewise three 7 8, and he owes the remaining 3. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it."

This tile is of the same date as the preceding.

Διεγρα $\hat{\Psi}$  Παπυρις Παπυρ $^{v}$  λινοπω $^{\lambda}$   $\delta$  λαογρα $\hat{\Phi}$  πεμτου L Τραειανου Καισαρος του κυριου δρα $^{x}$ ς οκτω  $f\hat{\eta}$  δει αυτος τας λυπας  $f\hat{\theta}$  Ερμογενης πρα $^{k}$  εγρα $\psi$ α

5790 g.

"Papyris, son of Papyrus, the linendraper, has paid for the polltax of the 5th year of Trajan, the lord, 8 drachmas, and he owes the remaining 9. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it."

This tile is A.D. 103-104.

Διεγρα $\hat{\Psi}$  Παπυρις Παπυρ<sup>ς</sup>  $\delta$   $\chi^0$  E L Τραιανου το κυριου επι λογ  $\delta$ 

5790 r.

"Papyris, son of Papyris, for the workman's tax of the 5th year of Trajan, the lord, has paid on account 4 drachmas."

Of the same date as the preceding.

Διεγραψ Πετροσμηθ Παχομ . . τιαι . . . δ λαογραφ εκτου L Τραειανου Καισαρος του κυριου επι λ οκτω 4η

5790 a.

"Petrosmethes, son of Pachomtbekis (?), has paid for the poll-tax of the 6th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, on account, 8 drachmas."

This tile is of A.D. 105-106.

128

Διεγραψ ...... α

δ λαογραφ εκτου L

Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριου επί λ οκτω β η Επιφ ιῆ δ αυτος τας λυπας εννεα 4θ
Ερμογενης πρᾶ εγραψα
Μεσορη κς

5791 s.

".... has acquitted for the poll-tax of the 6th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 8 drachmas of silver, the 18th Epiphi.... 9 drachmas; he owes the remaining. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written, the 27th Mesore."

This tile is of A.D. 104-105.

Διεγρα $\hat{\Psi}$  Πετροσζμηθ Φενω $\hat{\Psi}^S$  Θρακι $\hat{\Psi}^S$  λαογρα $\hat{\Phi}$  εδόυμου  $\hat{\Psi}^S$  Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριου επι λο $\hat{\Psi}^S$   $\hat{\Psi}^S$  οκτω Μεσωρη λ . . αυτος τας λυπας εννεα  $\hat{\theta}^S$  και  $\hat{\Psi}^S$  αν $\hat{\Psi}^S$  τριοδολ Ερμογενης πρα $\hat{\Psi}^S$  εγρα $\hat{\Psi}^S$ 

5790 n.

"Petroszmethes, son of Phenophis, of Thrakis, has acquitted tor the poll-tax of the 7th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, on account, 8 drachmas, the 30th Mesore; he owes the remaining 9, and for registration 3 obols. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it."

This tile is of A.D. 106.

Διεγραψ Αρπαησις Φενωφεος Θρακιδ<sup>ς</sup> Το λαογραφ εδδομου L
Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριου επι λογ ή η
αυτος τας λυπας ή θ
Ερμογενης πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα
5790 ο.

"Harpaesis, son of Phenophis, son of Thrakis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 7th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, on account, 8 drachmas; he owes the remaining 9. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it."

This of A.D. 105-106.

Διεγραψ Καλασιρις δ λαογραφ εδδομου L Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριου αρ<sup>γ</sup> δεκα επτα 4 ι ζ και δ αναγραφης τριοδολον ζ Ερμογενης πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα Μεσορη ι θ

Tile belonging to Aquila Dodgson, Esq.

"Calasiris has paid for the poll-tax of the 7th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 17 drachmas of silver and three obols for registration. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it, 19th Mesore."

This tile is of the same date.

As he had paid the full amount, the registration could hardly.have been for any deficiency or record of the amount owing.

Αμμωνίος Αμμωνα<sup>T</sup> κ Διονύσιος πρα<sup>K</sup> ιε $\hat{\rho}$  πλ Σοηνης διεγρα $\hat{\Psi}$  Παχνούδις Φενω Φεως μ Ταχομτδηκις μερισ μιην  $\frac{1}{2}$  α δραχμην L Η Τραιανού αριδτού του κύριου Μεσορί  $\hat{\alpha}$ 

5790 l.

"Ammonios, son of Ammonates, and Dionysios, collectors of the sacred gate of Syene. Pachnoubis, son of Phenopheus, and of his mother Tachomtbekis, has paid one rate, I drachma, for the 8th year of Trajan, the best lord, the 11th of the month Mesore."

This is the tile on which the title of Optimus Princeps appears in a Greek form. As Trajan ascended in A.D. 98, the tile must be A.D. 105, but the Roman coins do not bear it till his 10th tribuneship, or A.D. 108. It appears however to be supposed that the coins on which it first appears may be A.D. 106.

Διεγραψ Πετοσιρις Πετοσιριος λινοπω<sup>λ</sup>  $\delta$  λαογραφ εξόσμου L Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριον αρ<sup>γ</sup> ή δεκα επ τα  $\beta$  ις κα  $\delta$  αναγραφ τριοδολ Ερμογενης Αμμωνατ πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψ L  $\delta$  Τραιανου Καισαρ ος του κυριου Αθουρ  $\delta$ 

5790 a.

"Petosiris, son of Petosiris, linendraper, has acquitted for the poll-tax the 7th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 17 drachmas, and for registration 3 obols. I Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, the collector, have written it, the 9th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, the 2nd of Athyr."

Another of a later date, A.D. 107-108.

Διεγραψ Πετορζμιθ Πετορ ...

δ λασγραφ σγδωου L Τρ .....

Καισαρος του κυριου αρ<sup>γ</sup> ....

γιζ συν αις εσχ χειρον<sup>ξ</sup> .....

Αμμονα<sup>τ</sup> πρακ εγραψα

Μεσωρη λ

5790 s.

"Petorzmithes, son of Petorzmithes, for the poll-tax of the 8th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 17 drachmas of silver, with those I hold of the workman's-tax..... I Ammonates, the collector, have written it, on the 30th Mesore." The word after  $\epsilon\sigma \hat{\chi}$  uncertain.

A.D. 106-107.

5788 e.

"Papyris, son of Papyrus, the linendraper, has acquitted for the poll-tax of the 8th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 17 drachmas, with the former ones I have. I Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, the collector, have written it, the 18th Mesore."

The expression in the fourth line appears to be  $\alpha \rho^{\gamma}$ , for  $\partial \rho \gamma \dot{\nu} \rho \iota \sigma \nu$  (of silver), used for drachmas, although  $\partial \rho \iota \sigma \tau \sigma \nu$  suggests itself as a title of Trajan. It is of the same date.

... ρος μηθ Φενωφεος Θρα<sup>ς</sup>
... θ Τραειανου του
... Ερμογενης
α<sup>τ</sup> εγραψα

5788 A

"Petroszmethes, son of Phenophis, son of Thrakis (or Thrakeda), the 9th year of Trajan, the lord. I Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, have written it."

A.D. 107-108.

Διεγραψ Αρπαησις Φενωφιος Θρα<sup>5</sup> Τ λαογραφ Θ L Τραειανου του κυριου επι λο<sup>γ</sup> †η Φχαντιμο κυναοις

5788 e.

"Harpaesis, son of Phenophis and Thrakis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 9th year of Trajan, the lord, on account, 8 (drachmas). 1 Phenantimokinaois have written it."

Of the same date, A.D. 107-108.

Ουαλεριον και οι λοι μια ιερ πυλης Συηνης δια Σερα γρ διεγραψ Αρπαησις Φενωφε ως μη Ταχομτθη(κ)ως λα Θ L Τραιανου αριστου του κυριου δραχ δεκα ...τα Επειφ ιβ

5791 *f*.

"Valerion and the other farmers of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene, by Serapion writing it. Harpaesis, son of Phenopheus and his mother Tachomtbekis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 9th year of Trajan, the best lord, 17 drachmas, the 12th of the month Epiphi."

This is another tile on which the epithet of Optimus Princeps assumed by Trajan appears. The μισθωτάι were not mercenaries or persons hired to collect the taxes, but the company who farmed them. The mother of Harpaesis was Tachomtbex or Tachomtbekis.

Same date.

Διεγραψ Αρπαησις Φενωφι<sup>ς</sup> Θρακι<sup>ς</sup> Το χειροναξιου ενατου L Τραειανου Καισαρος του κυριου τας λυπας ή τεσσαρες βδ Ερμογενης Αμμονα<sup>τ</sup> πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγραψα δια Απολιναριου L.1 Τραειανου Καισαρος του κυριου Φαμενωθ κ ε

Brit. Mus.

"Arpaesis, son of Phenophis and Thrakis, has paid for the work-man's-tax of the 9th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, the remaining 4 (drachmas). I Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, the collector, have written it, by Apollinarius, the 10th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, the 22nd day of Phamenoth."

Same date.

Διεγραψ Αρπαησις φενωφι<sup>ς</sup> Θρακι<sup>ς</sup>

Ε χ ενδεκατου L
Τραειανου Καισαρος του κυριου
αρ . . . . δεκα ή ιθ Ερμογενης
Αμμωνατης εγραψα
5

5790 b.

"Harpaesis, son of Phenopheus (and) of Thrakis, has acquitted for the workman's-tax of the 11th year of Trajan Cæsar, the best lord, 19 drachmas of silver. I Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, have written it."

The cipher gives 19, so the missing word must be  $\epsilon \nu \nu \epsilon \alpha$  or 9. It is of A.D. 109-110.

Πελαιδετης Μνησι.... ταιρικου Θιψανσνουτι Ταχομτδηκις χ απεχω παρα σου λοιπων του ΙΔΙ Τραιανιου Καισαρος του κυριου δραχμην μιαν Παουνι θ

5790 i.

"Pelaidetes, son of Mnesietairikos, to Thipsanous, son of Tachomtbekis, greeting. I have from you of the remainder of the 14th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, 1 drachma, the 9th of Payni."

A.D. 112.

Διεγραψ Παχνουδις
Φανωφεως μη<sup>τ</sup> Ταχομτδηκως
η λαογραφ του ΙΕ Ι. Τραειανου
του κυριου δρα<sup>χ</sup> δεκα επτα και
η δι μερισμ<sup>ο</sup>.... δραχ δυω χο ήιζ ε
L ΙΕ Τραιανου του κυριου Μεκ ιθ
δ Λευκι Αυρηλί επιτηρ
5791 ε.

"Pachnoubis, son of Phanopheus and of (his) mother Tachomtbekis, for the poll-tax of the 15th year of Trajan, the lord, 17 drachmas, for registration, 12 (chalchoi), 17 for second assessment the workman'stax of 15th year of Trajan, the lord, the 19th day of Mecheir, by (the hand) of Lucius Aurelius, the surveyor of taxes."

This is one of the most interesting of the tiles; the  $\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$  mentioned in the 5th line is the registration of non-payment, for which a few obols were charged, the  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$   $\delta\nu\omega$ , or twelve, may refer to as many drachmas of the  $\chi^o$  or  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\sigma\nu\alpha\xi\iota\sigma\nu$ , workman's-tax; it is followed by  $\chi$ , and the cipher is only 7. A.D. II3-II4.

Υιβ .... υ Αυρηλιου ....

σα διεγρ Πετορζμηθις Παχομ τβηκ<sup>ς</sup> υ λαογραφι με(ρις) ΙΕΙ δραχ δεκα πεντε οβολ πεντε διεγρα .... υ χ<sup>υ</sup> LIZ Τραειανου κυριου .... Τυβι ιβ in a smaller hand ..α<sup>χ</sup> δεκα πεντε οδολους πεντε

5790 t.

".... son of Aurelius, Petorzmethis, son of Pachomtbekis, for the assessment of poll-tax and for the 15th year, 15 drachmas 5 oboli, has acquitted for the workman's-tax of the 16th year of Trajan, the lord.... the 12th of Tybi;" and, in a smaller hand: "15 drachmas 5 oboli."

A.D. 113-114.

Διεγραψεν Παχνουμις Παχομ παβηαχθως μ Ταχομτθηκις δ λαο<sup>γ</sup> ΙΗ L Τραιανού Φαρ μουτι δ δραχ<sup>μ</sup> τεσσαρες Παχων κε δραχμ τεσσαρες Παυνι κθ δραχμ τεσσαρες Επιφι  $\hat{ heta}$  δραχμας δυ $oldsymbol{\omega}$ Μεσορη β δραχμας δυω ις Διδυμιών . . . εγρ ι<sup>η</sup> δ αλλας δραχμ μιαν υ δευτ μ<sup>ο</sup> ις α μερισ μου 4 κ = δ Σεραπαπιωνος 5790 n.

Pachnoumis, son of Pachompabeachthis and of Tachomtbekis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 18th year of Trajan, the 4th of Pharmuthi, 4 drachmas, 4 drachmas the 24th Pachon, 4 drachmas the 29th Payni, 4 drachmas the 9th Epiphi, 2 drachmas the 2nd Mesori, 2 drachmas, 16 drachmas. Didymion has written, 19th year; he owes other drachmas 1. Two of the assessment . . . 1 of the and assessment by Serapion."

A.D. 116-117.

Διδυμων πρα<sup>κ</sup> αρ<sup>γ</sup> διεγραψε Αρπαησις Πανω έδις με Ταχομτέηκιος δ λαογραφ εκνεα και δεκα του L Τραιανου αριστου του κυριου δρα<sup>χ</sup> οκτω 4η δ...β Φαμενωθ κᾶ ....δ λυπας δραχ OKTO 49

5790 f.

"Didymon, the collector of silver, Harpaesis, son of Panobdis, of his mother Tachomtbekis, has paid on account of the poll-tax for the 19th year of Trajan, the best lord, 8 drachmas, ... obols, the 21st Phamenoth, he owes the remaining 8 drachmas."

A.D. 117-118.

Απολλωνιος Αρσαησιος Τραιανου του κυριου.

Tile, Brit. Mus.

"Apollonius, son of Harsaessis, of Trajan, the lord, . . drachmas." This is a mere memorandum, date and number of drachmas wanting.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

21st April, 1883.

The strange mythological figures which are designed upon the Egyptian papyrus with which you were occupied when I last saw you reminded me, as I told you, of some pictures in one of the chambers on the terrace of the temple of Dendera. These pictures, which will be found in the fourth volume of Mariette's great work, are taken from the 149th chapter of the Book of the Dead, and are accompanied by a short explanatory text, which is noteworthy as everywhere transcribing the pronoun  $2 \sqrt{10} \sqrt{10}$ , tui, by what M. Chabas would call the "singularité graphique"  $2 \sqrt{10}$  uti. This, like many of the "singularités graphiques," is simply an ignorant blunder.

Far more interesting is the presence in this text (pl. 83) of a compound preposition which I do not remember to have seen noted. The ninth  $\dot{a}at$  is said to be seen such that  $\dot{a}$  is set at  $\dot{a}$  is set at  $\dot{a}$  in  $\dot{a}$  in  $\dot{a}$  is set at  $\dot{a}$  in  $\dot{a}$  in

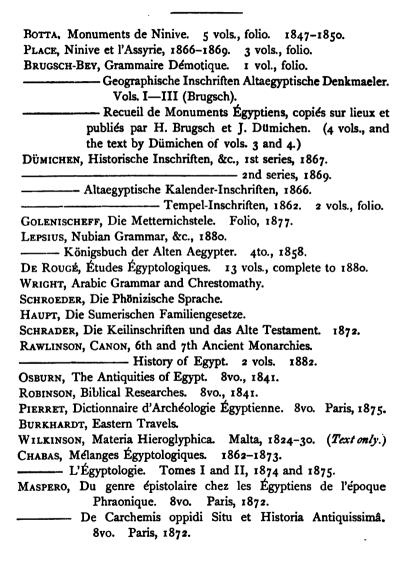
I am, faithfully yours,
P. LE P. RENOUF.

The next meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, June 5th, 1883, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

By Rev. A. Löwy:—"Underground Structures in Biblical Lands."

Miscellaneous Communications.

# THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.



### **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

## THE SOCIETY

OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

### THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1882-83.

Eighth Meeting, 5th June, 1883.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Society of Antiquaries:—Proceedings. Second Series. Vol. IX. No. 1. November 24, 1881, to January 26, 1882. Index, Title, &c., to Second Series. Vol. VIII. London. 8vo. 1883.

From The Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XV. Part 2. April, 1883. 8vo. London.

From The Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XXXIX. Part 2. No. 154, May 1, 1883. 8vo. London. 1883. From the Royal Geographical Society: Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography, Nos. 5 and 6. 8vo. London. 1883.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1882-83. Nos. 14 and 15. 4to. London. 1883.

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—
The Journal. Vol. XII. No. 4. 8vo. London. May, 1883.
From The Victoria Institute:—The Journal of Transactions,
Vol. XVI, 1882-83. 8vo. London. 1883.

[No. xl.] 137

From the Societé Royal des Antiquaries du Nord:—Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie. 1882. Parts III and IV. 1883, Part I.

'Tilleg til Aarboger for Nordisk oldkyngighed og historie, aargang 1881. 8vo. Kjobenhavn, 1882.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council:—The Sacred Books of the East. 8vo. Oxford. 1883.

Vol. XVII.—Vinaya Texts. Part II. The Mahâvagga, V to X. The Kullavagga, I to III. Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg.

Vol. XIX.—The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, a life of Buddha. Translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal.

Vol. XXIII.—The Zend-Avesta. Part II. Translated by James Darmestetter.

From S. Birch, D.C.L., &c. (President): — Egypt's Place in Universal History. By Christian C. J. Bunsen, D.C.L., &c. Vol. I. 8vo. London. 1848. Vol. II, 1854. Vol. III, 1859.

From F. D. Mocatta:—The Mishnah, on which the Palestinian Talmud rests, from the unique manuscript preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, Add. 470, 1. By W. H. Lowe, M.A. 8vo. Cambridge. 1883.

From the Author:—Il Libro dei funerali degli Antichi Egiziani, tradotto e commentato da Ernesto Schiaparelli. Vol. I, folio. Torino, 1882.

From the Author, M. Terrien de Lacouperie:—On the History of the Archaic Chinese Writings and Texts.

Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XIV. New Series. 1882.

Paper Money of the Ninth Century, and supposed Leather Coinage of China.

Reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Vol. II. Third Series. 8vo. 1882.

The Silver Coinage of Tibet.

Reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Third Series. Vol. I. 8vo. 1882.

From the Author, J. Linton Palmer, R.N., &c.:—Marquesan Tradition of the Deluge.

Read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 8th January, 1877.

From the Author, John Campbell, M.A.:—A Translation of the principal Hittite Inscriptions yet published.

Pamphlet, privately printed.

From Villiers Stuart, M.P.:—Egypt. No. 7 (1883). Reports by Villiers Stuart, M.P., respecting the Reorganization in Egypt.

Parliamentary Report. London. Folio. 1883.

From the Author: Is Sumer en Akkad hetzelfde als makan en Mêlucha? Bijdrage van C. P. Tiele. Amsterdam. 8vo. 1883.

Reprinted from the Letterkunde, 2de Reeks, Deel XII, of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenshappen.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

The Temple and the Tomb. By Charles Warren. London. 8vo. 1880.

Map of Western Palestine, from Surveys conducted for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, by Lieutenants C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, R. E. Scale, \( \frac{3}{6} \)-inch to 1 mile. Special edition, illustrating the Natural Drainage, &c.

Special edition, illustrating the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and Josephus. By Trelawney Saunders.

Special edition, illustrating the New Testament, the Talmud, and Josephus. By Trelawney Saunders.

Cuneorum Clavis. The Primitive Alphabet and Language of the Ancient Ones of the Earth. From the papers of the late Daniel Smith. Edited by H. W. Hemsworth. London. 8vo. 1875.

The following having been, by order of the Council, submitted for election, were duly elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. W. G. Elmslie, M.A., Willesden, N.W. George Evans, M.A., The Poplars, Aberdare. Samuel Joyce, jun., 113, Richmond Road, Hackney. Professor Alexander Murdoch, 49, Arlington Street, Glasgow. Llewellyn Saunderson, 10, de Vesci Terrace, Kingstown. Rev. R. Vint, B.D., Southampton.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—
The National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated 1st May:—

Rev. Joseph Chotzner, Harrow-on-the-Hill.

Charles Compigné, 114, Kennington Park Road, S.E.

Rev. John Gott, D.D., Leeds.

W. R. Harper, Ph.D., Morgan Park, near Chicago, Illinois.

Henry Lumley, 31, St. James's Street, W.

The Rev. A. Löwy read a paper—"Underground Structures in Biblical Lands."

The area of the present inquiry is limited to Palestine and some contiguous tracts in other parts of Syria. Underground works were commenced in those regions long before a record was made of them in written history. These memorials of past ages include—

- 1. Caves fitted up for habitation.
- 2. Tombs, rock-hewn or otherwise, to which at a late period were added the Moslem *Mukams*, or shrines of holy persons.
- 3. Cisterns and reservoirs.
- 4. Aqueducts.
- 5. Miscellaneous structures, such as rock-hewn wine presses, &c.

These relics of past ages are witnesses of a rudimentary culture, now advancing, now retrograding, and always struggling either with hostile nations or with the peculiar and characteristic difficulties of Eastern countries. The present paper could only touch upon the first of the subjects mentioned in the foregoing list, viz., Cave-dwellings, and then only with a portion of them.

Caverns abound in Syria to such an extent as to make many mountains present a honeycombed appearance. Earthquakes and volcanic disturbances in pre-historic ages have anticipated the labours of the quarriers and the diggers in the sides of the hills. Such who delved in the fissures of the rocks and in the holes of the mountains belonged to the primitive portion of humanity, and were on the alert to find a refuge from wild beasts and still wilder fellow-creatures. Numerous caves which have served as dwelling-places for man have been noted down and described by that eminent staff of workers whom the Palestine Exploration Fund has sent out to enrich the stores of biblical knowledge. To the publications of that Fund, and to kindred works, including the judicious labours of Dr. Wetzstein, formerly Prussian Consul at Damascus, Mr. Löwy was indebted for a portion of the data he had to bring under the notice of this Society.

Some of the cave-dwellings in Syria are again inhabited by persons

whose vegetating existence has been ably described by the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake in the volume of "Special Papers" published by the Exploration Fund in the "Survey of Western Palestine." This writer states that the Syrian troglodyte shares his underground dwelling with his cows, sheep, and goats. The entrance cut in the rock may be about 31 or 4 feet wide, open at the top, and descending either by an inclined plane, or by low steps leading to the doorway. The door is 4 feet high by 21 feet in width. The walls are seldom smoothed. The room is circular or of oval shape, and not quite 6 feet in height. In the centre the cattle are housed, whilst the human inmates—the man, with two wives, and perchance half-adozen children-are separated from their brute companions by a line of stones. Sometimes the place for the human inmates forms a raised ledge, a mastabah. The refuse is removed every morning, and deposited close to the outer gangway. After a heavy downpour of rain, some inches of water may add to the discomforts of this Augean stable. The slimy damp of the walls, the mosquitoes, the vermin, the reek of men and beasts, make, according to Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake, an English pig-stye a palace in comparison with such a dismal dwelling. The aspirations of the cave-dweller do not go beyond cramming himself with wild herbs or gathering a few piastres, by sending his family to towns distant many miles, there to offer for sale some sticks for firing, or similar articles of little value. The property of the modern cave-dweller may consist of 20 to 30 sheep and goats, 4 to 5 head of cattle, a half-starved dog, a pair of donkeys, a rusty gun, a few skins to hold milk, an earthenware jar or two, a primitive plough, an ox-goad, a few bits of hair cloth for wrappings and for bedding, or sacks for green herbs, especially mallows, which are the general food for the poor in North Africa, Syria, and Palestine. Millet is used for bread, and milk is prepared in various ways.

The greatest number of cave dwellings are found on the eastern side of the Jordan, in that portion of the territory of Bashan which, with its shifting frontiers, has been called the Hauran, a name to which further reference was made in the present paper.

Wetzstein, in the report of his visit to the Hauran, gives a clear insight into the condition of troglodyte dwellings. These were constructed in the remotest periods of antiquity. A cave was dug in a rock, about 12 to 16 paces by 8, and about 10 feet high. The entrance was between 3 and 4 feet wide. This was the residence of the family. In the interior, three additional recesses were excavated,

one for stabling the cattle, another for storing the broken straw, and a third for garnering the grain and other provisions. The daylight only passed through the door. Where a large number of persons had to be received, the subterranean dwelling places were more widely excavated. In such cases the ceilings were supported upon natural pillars, the internal rock being cut round about in column-shape; or huge stone blocks were piled one upon the other until they pressed against the ceiling. In some instances, arches were built for the support of the structure, and some of these buildings received much embellishment in the process of time.

These descriptions form a corollary to the picture of troglodyte life as given in Job xxx, 3-5. The poet who composed that book must have been an eye-witness of the miserable life led by cave-dwellers. As the translation in the authorised version appeared to Mr. Löwy to require a few modifications, he gave his rendering as follows:—

- (v. 3.) "In want and in famine, solitary, are those who rush into a parched region which since aforetimes has been desolate and dreary.
- (v. 4.) "Plucking the salty plant amongst the herbage, the root of the broom plant is their food. They are driven away from the midst of fellow men; men cry after them as after a thief.
- (v. 5.) "In the refts of stream-courses they come to dwell, in the caves of earth and of rocks."

It made very little difference whether Job alluded to Idumean or Hauranic troglodytes. In the simplicity of an uncivilized state of society there are but few differences between one set of destitute classes and another. But it seems curious that *Tema* and *Duma*, noticed in the Bible, and which were to be sought in Idumea, occur likewise in the Hauran not very far apart from each other. It is in that territory, with its hundreds of deserted towns and villages, where the largest number of troglodyte localities are to be found.

Mr. Löwy then proceeded to the geographical portion of his subject. Bashan, in the time of the Roman conquests, comprised four provinces. These, according to Josephus, had the following names:—Batanea (Bashan proper), which in the Bible time was famed for its lofty oak forests, its mighty bulls, and well-fattened sheep.

Batanea melted away, as Canon Tristram says, into Eastern Syria. Gaulonitis (Golan in Hebrew), bordering on the Sea of Galilee, was

Gaulonitis (Golan in Hebrew), bordering on the Sea of Galilee, was likewise distinguished for its luxuriant fertility and rich pasture lands.

In the east of Golan we meet with Og's ancient capital, Edrei, now identified with Derât, and still remarkable for its colossal water tanks.

From Edrei a Roman road ran in a south-western direction, viâ Bazrah, to Salcha, and thence far off into Irak.

Mr. Löwy had now to mention two provinces belonging to ancient Bashan. One was known by the Roman name Auranitis, the other by the Greek name Trachonitis, denoting very appropriately the rough and rocky nature of that region, and in the Targumic versions Tarchona. Auranitis is undoubtedly of the same origin as the word Hauran, a name mentioned in Ezekiel xlvii, and also by Arabic The appellation Hauran is supposed to indicate the numberless cave-dwellings of the land, and to be connected with the Hebrew word הור, a hollow. From the same word הור (chur) the original inhabitants of the cavernous region in the land of Edom appear to have received the name , Horites, that is, troglodytes. No region in the world seems to surpass the Trachons, at least parts of them, in a terror-inspiring aspect. The plural has to be used in the name Trachons, for there is the Eastern Trachon, the Argob of the Bible, and the Western Trachon, the Safa (which means a waste or a void), with its pale gloss and colour of cast iron, where vegetation comes to a standstill. Wetzstein describes the Safa as a deluge of lava with numberless petrified streams of black and scarlet waves which in countless ages of antiquity were poured forth and became solidified, and then the next overflow ran down the sides of the lofty plateau. The Eastern Trachon now bears the Arabic name Lejah, or refuge, namely, of outlaws. The craters in the Hauranic mountains have combined with their lava to build up this region, which, twentytwo miles long by fifteen in width, stands from twenty to thirty feet above the underlying plain. All the convulsions of volcanic disturbances are stereotyped in the Lejah. The lava crust has been rent asunder to the very foundation. Gulf is by the side of gulf, and crags have been overturned or heaped one upon the other.

The Rev. Dr. W. Wright compares this region with a troubled sea, and draws a vivid picture of the basaltic waves, on the crests of which the sun, when setting, reflects its parting radiance, whilst the dark shadows appear like deep furrows of the waves. One of the volcanoes which furnished its quota to the formation of this huge lava plateau has retained the name (Shichân), in which the Biblical name of King is easily recognized. The king may have owed his name to this gigantic volcano, which is said to have a circumference of 2,000 paces, and an elevation of 1,200 feet. On the top of the volcano is the tomb of a sainted Bedouin, Shichân.

Moslem tradition has here converted to Islam a name which belongs to the ancient Bible times.

The Rev. Dr. Wright, in the interesting articles he published in the "Leisure Hour" of 1874, "On the Giant Cities of Bashan," calls attention to the fact that whenever the region of Argob is mentioned, the Hebrew text employs the word (Chebel). This word literally means a rope; and the late Professor Lee, without the slightest authority, imagined that he means a wave. We would then have to look upon the Hauranic mountain as an old and acknowledged representation of a system of waves. Ewald has gone further, and makes the Chebel of Argob to denote a Hades or Orcus-like region of Argob. The Chebel of Argob means nothing else but the district or region of Argob. The ancient Hebrews employed a rope or measuring-line for the measurement and allotment of landed property. (See Amos vii, 17.) ארכתד בחבל תחלם, "Thy territory shall be divided by the rope or measuring line." The land appropriated by the tribe of Judah was mentioned in Josh. xix, 9, as the "portion" (חבל) of the children of Judah. Hence the Psalmist, חבלים נפלן לי בנעימים, "My portions (allotments) have fallen in pleasant places." The few adventurous champions of Bible knowledge who have visited the wild regions of the Hauran, impress us with the conviction that before, and in the days when the Israelites held Palestine, many disastrous battles must have been fought with the aboriginal marauders, who felt secure in their volcanic cave-houses, and could not be exterminated without the aid of such pestilential diseases as would be bred in the subterranean and unsanitary hiding-places.

According to the Bible the original appellation of this region of the Hauran was the land of the *Rephaim*, a word which in various sections of the Bible is synonymous with "the departed." Attempts to solve the enigma as to who were the Rephaim have utterly failed. The late Miss Fanny Corbeau laboured hard to prove that the Rephaim were connected with the Philistines, and through them with the Egyptians. In reality they seem to have been displaced by the Amorites, who have been noted for their iniquitous conduct, but of whose actual history we know very little.

The Bible has preserved only one word of the language of the Amorites, and this is highly significant. In Deut. iii, 9, it is stated that the Amorites called Mount Hermon "Senir," which name is rendered in the Aramaic versions of Onkelos and Jonathan ben

Uzziel הור חלוא, the Snow Mountain. Rashi, the great Jewish commentator of the Middle Ages, points out that Senir means snow both in the Germanic and the Kenaanite languages. By the Kenaanite is meant the stock of the Slavonic people. The Slavonians, at one time hereditary bond-servants, gave to many European languages the word slave, whilst the Kenaanite appeared as the typical slave, through Noah's curse: Kenaan shall be the slave of slaves. If Senir be an Aryan name, the Amorites would appear to be an Aryan people, which is not beyond the range of possibility.

By the side of the Rephaim, of whom King Og was one of the last survivors, the ancient Jewish commentators enumerate six synonyms, all denoting giants. The best known additional names are Nephilim, in Genesis vi, and the Anakim, in Numbers xiii, and in other parts of Scripture. These names have supplied material for the preservation of ancient Jewish folk-lore, of which, in a few instances, Sihon and Og are the heroes.

Sihon and Og are said to have been of the *Nephilim* who are mentioned in Genesis vi. *Nephilim* means fallen down or prostrate men. Jewish folk-lore here identifies the Nephilim or fallen with the Rephaim of Bashan, and it tells us that Sihon and Og were survivors of the heaven-assailing Titans. They were Nephilim, that is, cast down upon the earth. In this legend is the following grain of truth. *Sihon* in Bashan being a fire-emitting and colossal mountain, it was by tradition metamorphosed into a human giant. And as the volcano became extinct, and its thunders gave way to deadly stillness, it might well be proclaimed by dreamy tradition that Sihon whilst assailing the sky was overthrown and humbled for ever.

For this King Og, Jewish folk-lore has the additional legend that he lived before the Deluge, and was permitted to be saved by clinging to the Ark of Noah. In Abulfedas pre-Islamic history it is noticed that a goodly number of other persons were at the same time saved from the general destruction. The Jews appear to have regarded the Rephaim of Bashan as a race waning and decaying at the approach of a healthier and more vigorous race. They who originally lived in the depths of caves were in poetry and in proverbs mentioned as the enfeebled dwellers in the deep grave. The grave, the troglodyte cave for all times, was therefore the עמק רפאים, "the low land of the departed."

Remarks were added by Rev. W. Wright, D.D.; Mr. J. Park Harrison; Mr. W. Myers; Mr. T. Tyler; Rev. W. Meade Jones; Mr. Löwy; and the President.

A very fine *Hypocephalus* was exhibited by the kindness of Sir Henry Meux, Bart.

The Secretary exhibited a drawing of an Egyptian Tablet in the British Museum.

The remarks made by the President will be printed in the forthcoming part of the *Transactions*.

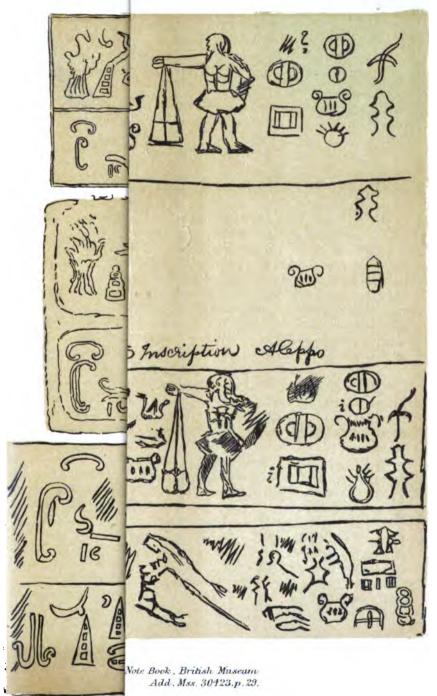
The following communication on "The Aleppo Inscription" was read by the writer:—

In my notes on the inscribed stones from Jerabis, Hamath, Aleppo, &c., printed at the end of Vol. VII of the *Transactions*, I expressed a hope that before long it would be possible to add the Aleppo Inscription to the series there given.

Mr. Rassam, before starting on his last expedition to Mesopotamia, had kindly promised to obtain for me if possible a squeeze of the inscription. On his arrival at Aleppo he made enquiries about the stone, and sent me the following information: "I was sorry to learn from Mr. Henderson, Her Majesty's Consul at Aleppo, that the said stone had been broken to pieces by, I believe, devout Moslems, who thought that such a heathenish monument defiled the true believers' place of worship, and the sooner they removed it the better."

As not a fragment remains, and there is now no possibility of obtaining a squeeze, I have, for comparison, drawn upon the two annexed plates, facsimiles of all the copies of the inscription I have been able to obtain. One was taken by Major-General S. W. Crawford, to whom I have written a request for the use of his copy, if he has preserved it, and shall hope to be able to add it to the series ere long.

Fig. I is taken from *Unexplored Syria*, by Richard F. Burton and Charles F. Tyrwhitt-Drake (London, 1872, p. 186). Mr. Drake thus writes: "To any one well acquainted with Hums and Hamah, the resemblance borne by the mounds on which the castles were built, at those places, to that of Aleppo, is most striking. The latter is the largest, but in shape, outline, and construction of its fosse, it is almost identical with the other two." \* \* \* \* "History is silent about the construction of these three sister castles—for I cannot but so regard them; but I believe that the five blocks of basalt at Hamah, covered with hieroglyphs in excellent preservation, may be the opening page to a new chapter in history." \* \* \* \* "At Aleppo I stumbled upon a connecting link in the history of these castles. In the south wall of the Jamai'a el Kákán is a block of basalt, with an inscription similar to those at Hamah; though much defaced, I made out



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nineteen characters (including repetitions) identical with the abovementioned. The door-step of a house to the north-west of the mosque is made of another piece of basalt, on which I could trace sufficient to feel sure that it also had been covered with inscriptions."

Mr. Drake, in a few lines, adds his opinion that the key to these characters must be looked for in the *Beth*, house, *Kaf*, hand, &c., &c., of the Semitic alphabets.

The illustration on p. 186 gives the inscription wrong way up.

The Rev. W. T. Tyrwhitt-Drake has kindly searched among the papers of his late brother for drawings or squeezes of this inscription, but I regret to say without any result.

Fig. II is taken from the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1873, p. 73. M. Clermont-Ganneau in the communication claims to have told Captain Burton and Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake in 1871, and allowed them to copy a drawing in his possession made by M. Paucker. Certainly the inscription given by Mr. Drake cannot have been copied from that published by M. Clermont-Ganneau, who himself points out that the two copies differ considerably. We may conclude, therefore, that we have in them two independent copies.

M. Clermont-Ganneau writes: "The original stone of basalt, like those of Hamath, is embedded partly in the wall of a mosk, and partly in the hareem of an adjacent house. Only the former portion is visible, and consequently either the beginning or the end of the inscription is wanting in the above copy."

Some particulars are then given as to the possible construction and origin of the language.

Fig. III is from a drawing taken from the original stone by Mr. Boscawen, and of which he has kindly allowed the publication. He informs me that the stone was much worn away, and that the characters were cut in very low relief. The wearing away in some places appears to have been owing to the belief that the stone, like one of those at Hamath, possessed curing powers; in this instance the people believed that, by rubbing their eyes against it, ophthalmia could be cured.

It will be remarked that in this sketch of the inscription the lines are placed in the wrong order. Mr. Boscawen explains that this is owing to the two lines of characters having been drawn on separate pages of his note-book, without any notes as to their arrangement. They were accidentally placed in the wrong position in making the finished sketch.

Fig. IV is a copy of the page in the late George Smith's sketch-

book, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS., 30,423, p. 29), for permission to copy which I am indebted to Dr. Birch.

It appears from the fact that the inscription has always been printed wrong way up, that the stone was so placed in the wall. George Smith probably guessed this, and endeavoured in the portion of the inscription copied at the head of the page to correct it in his drawing. Doubtless he found it difficult to do so, broke off suddenly without completing his first copy, turned his sketch-book round, as is proved by the reversal of the (?) marks attached to some doubtful characters, and in this manner made his final copy.

In mentioning this class of inscription, I am glad to say that by the kindness of Professor Sayce I am able to report two new inscriptions cut upon the Niobê at Mount Sipylos. Dr. Gollob describes, in the "Wiener Studien" for 1882, the result of a careful examination of the figure which resulted in the discovery of the inscriptions, cut in relief upon surfaces prepared on the face of the rock.

Near to the "Hittite" cartouche, published\* from drawings by Mr. Consul Dennis and Professor Sayce, were found some much-worn characters, which are identified by Gollob with the cartouche of Rameses II in Egyptian hieroglyphics. Higher up another inscription of nine or ten "Hittite" characters, also in a corroded state. Woodcuts of the three inscriptions are given by Gollob.

Professor Krall in his note also printed in the same number of the "Wiener Studien," considers it impossible to say in what kind of language the inscriptions are written, and thinks that these people had better be called the Syrian nation.

He points out that the incorrectness in the reproduction of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is similar to that found on objects of Phœnician manufacture, and like the latter, point to foreign workmen who endeavoured to copy what they did not understand. "I have seen," he adds, "at Professor Karabacek's, materials which were manufactured in Persia, and displayed badly-imitated hieroglyphic groups. Egyptian scarabs must have served as the model for the workmen of Sipylos."

Only the rudely-carved figure of "Ma" is now very clear on the cartouche, and as Professor Krall points out, the whole ought to be surmounted by the phrase, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt,", instead of "Son of the Sun," on which actually stands above it. Moreover, he adds, the bird which means "son," is turned towards the left instead of the right.

<sup>\*</sup> Proceedings, Soc. Bibl. Arch., January, 1881, p. 49. Transactions, Vol. VII.

He makes the suggestion that the two "Hittite" cartouches may contain the name of Khetasira, who made the treaty of peace with Rameses II, but if the cartouche is really that of Rameses II, and was engraved there for any historical purpose, ought not one of them at least to be rather the name of Rameses II written in the "Hittite" character?

W. HARRY RYLANDS.

The following communication has been received from Dr. W. Pleyte:—

### DEAR SIR,

I have read with the greatest interest the communication from M. Revillout on the Papyrus Dodgson, containing the malediction of an Egyptian mother on her son embracing Christianity. The examples of Christianity in Egyptian documents are very rare; one only was noted, that the head of Jesus was signalized in a magical Greek text, existing in our Museum, and pointed out by Reuvens in his Lettres à Letronne. Also in the Papyrus Dodgson, neither the name nor the religion of Jesus or the Christ is named; only the name of Peter, the Christian name of Peterist, indicates the changed religion. In the magic formulas from the Demotic bilingual papyrus at Leyden, I believe I have found other indications of Christian influence.

All Egyptologists know these interesting documents, the first publication of Dr. Leemans, after the death of Reuvens, who had the first bilingual text in preparation for the press.

The notices by Professor Reuvens and Dr. Leemans, but specially that from Brugsch in his Demotic Grammar and Dictionary, are valuable in this matter, and the translation of two pages by Professor Maspero in the first part of his *Receuil*, gives a good idea of the contents of the papyrus, magical, medical, as well as several others, written in the hieratic, of which Dr. Birch has given an interesting review, and myself an interlineary translation with a commentary.

In the great Demotic text the incantations take the first place, and the receipts or medicaments are few in number and of little interest.

Before I give the texts that I suppose contain Christian sentences, I must make some observations on the document itself.

It is not a bilingual text, but in it occurs a passage that has been translated into the following lines of Demotic. Several Greek characters are found in the text, but only to write the Gnostic name of the Supreme Being as embracing all the vocals of the alphabet.

This Name, derived from the Jehovah of the Hebrews, was a

simple exclamation, as ia, iê, iao, iae, &c., that served as a sigh, or as a glorification of God.

But in the text itself a number of words are taken from neighbouring civilisations or religions, and the determinative f indicates that they are foreign words from other languages.

The Greek paraphrase indicates that we may find in these words many Greek names of beings or sentences, and my investigations have led to the result that such is really the case.

That some of these words were derived from the Greek, was also the opinion of the scholar that has written the Greek characters above the Demotic phonetics; but although he was well acquainted with the Egyptian, he was not so with the Hellenic language.

For example, he has well transcribed -

But of the Greek sentences he has transcribed none that give any Greek word.

It seems that he has employed a kind of syllabarium, with Greek transcription, for this purpose. Sometimes he had made faults, as in the transcription of  $\lim_{\Lambda \to -200} \lim_{\Lambda \to -100} \lim_{\Lambda$ 

<sup>\*</sup> The first and second numbers refer to the pages and lines of the papyrus, the third to the plates as given in "Papyrus Egyptien démotique . . . . du Musée . . . . des Pays-Bas à Leide." Dr. Conrad Leemans. Folio. Leide. 1839.

read it, Pa nuter serau pater-a pater m-pe pa nuter aa, "the youthful god, my father, father in heaven, the great god."

Before I give the translation of another formula, I must say something on the transcription of the Greek  $\theta$ .

The  $\theta$  is transcribed in two manners by th and ts, and it seems that the Greek  $\theta$  had the two pronunciations of th and ts, as the English th in that and with.

Of the use as th, we find a mass of examples:—

 $\theta \in \iota$ . XIII, 6, Plate VI, and many others. But there are also several words that are written with  $\alpha$  and transcribed by  $\theta$ .

In other words occurs the  $\theta$  as transcription of the ts and th.

$$\begin{bmatrix}
m &= \\
m &$$

Only once ts is transcribed by t and s.

After these remarks we can transcribe a passage from the XIII, page verso, Plate XII, that contains—

tiri thee pisitu eksaimi atam. If we take the phrase as a Greek sentence, we can read it, Κυριε Θειε πιστε εξιημι Αδαμ, O Divine faithful Lord, I cast out Adam.

I believe that this is the sense, and that Adam here is the Old Adam, the demon, that must be reformed in the man, and must be replaced by the Christ. He is not the Adam-kadmon, the good great universal Being of the Gnostics and Cabalists.

Leyden, 3rd January, 1883.

The following communication has been received from Theo. G. Pinches:—

I have read with great interest the valuable remarks made by Professor Oppert upon the tablet containing the unknown writing published by me in the April number of the *Proceedings*; and as it would take up probably many pages to go through, bring all the passages bearing upon, and prove the correctness of the translation which I there proposed, I venture to make only a few remarks.

In the first place, I will repeat my translation, rendered into better English. In order to give the sense, word for word, this was not possible in the interlinear rendering before published, and was not considered necessary on account of the simplicity of the text.

"Ê-sagila-liššî, son of Nabû-kuṣur-šu, Bêl-balaţ-su, son of Nadintum, and Ina-Ê-sagila-lilbir son of Bêl-êderu, have cheerfully sold Nanâ-Babili-šininni, their servant, whose right wrist is inscribed with the name of Ina-Ê-sagila-lilbir, the slavedealer, for one mana eight shekels of refined silver, for the price complete, to Urmanū, son of Lišir. Ê-sagila liššî, Bêl-balaṭ-su, and Ina Ê-sagila-lilbir have received the money, one mana eight shekels of refined silver, the price of Nanâ-Babili-šininni, the servant of the men, from the hands of Urmanū.

"If a claim should be made upon Nanâ-Babili-šininni, the servant of the men, Ê-sagila-liššî, Bêl-balat-su, and Ina-Ê-sagila-lilbir, the slavedealer, make up (?) the amount (?), and shall give (it) to Urmanū."

The meaning of the above contract is clear. Three men have a female slave to sell, who is marked, perhaps on the right wrist or the back of the right hand, with the name of one of the sellers, because of his being, probably, an extensive slaveowner, and therefore a slavedealer, in partnership with the other two. The slave is sold, and according to the terms of the contract, it is provided that if, in consequence of the mark upon the slave, any of the kinsfolk of the man whose name she bears claim her (successfully, as is of course implied), then the sellers are to refund the money to the buyer. The transaction is of the simplest kind, and there is very little of a legal nature about it.

JUNE 5]

The word  $\[ \] \]$  is of very common occurrence in these texts, and seems always to mean simply "money," the aspirate ( $\[ \] \]$  being merely to strengthen the case-ending. The translation of "receipt" is, to my mind, most improbable, for it is not likely that the Babylonians, being an exceedingly businesslike people, would hand over a receipt for money that had never been paid.

I think that every Assyriologist will agree with me, that though sêru, means "flesh," yet duppu, "tablet," can hardly mean "loins," and diff emittu, "arms," and that šaṭāru does not mean "to be addicted," but "to write."

The word kala, in Assyrian, means "to burn," and therefore to purify, when speaking of metals. If it comes from קלע we ought to have the form kēla. The meaning "refined" is certainly to be preferred, because coins are not engraved, but struck.

Pakru may, and probably does, refer to the "former owner," or better still, to his kinsfolk. Dr. Oppert's rendering does not, however, change the sense much, for what is a "rescinding action" but "a claim?"

I cannot agree with the reading nisu luttim for ATTY Amelut-tum. As before remarked, it is an abstract form from amelu, "man," and the fully spelled-out form if I amelut-tum, occurs rather often. The original meaning was "men" in general (homines), then "slaves." "Seller of slaves" is undoubtedly the meaning of nadin ameluttum.

As to the word ittabsa, it is, of course, Ittaphal of basa, "to be," and means "it is made," or "it shall be made," and can hardly mean "should be successful," though the success of the claim is, of course, implied.

The reading of "Nanâ" was preferred to that of "Istar" for the group \[ \vert \vert \vert \vert \vert \], because of the passage in W.A.I., II, pl. 48, l. 16 cd, and 50, l. 67 ab, where the city-name \[ \vert \

In my paper describing the Plaint of a Babylonian Widow, claiming her property, which will appear in the *Transactions*, the result of a careful study of documents of this class will be given.

The following communication has been received:-

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

May 17th, 1883.

Some years ago I put forward the opinion that the Biblical names Shem and Japhet found their explanation in the Assyrian words samu, "olive-coloured," and ippatu, "the white race." I am now more than ever persuaded that I was right in this suggestion. Will you allow me briefly to give my reasons for making it?

The meaning of the name of Ham has long been recognized. is an amalgamation of the Hebrew DT, "hot" (a root which is also met with in Assyrian), and the Egyptian kem, "black," which was frequently used to denote the land of Egypt itself. Shem, according to the ordinary rule, would correspond with the Assyrian samu, the Assyrian & representing a Hebrew \( \mathbf{y} \) in proper names. signifies much the same colour as the Greek ylauro's. English equivalent would be "grey," which is sometimes used of blue eyes, sometimes of a colour that is almost brown. Similarly, while samu can be employed to denote a stone, which was probably the Sinaitic turquoise, it was also applied to a mist or cloud. the bye-form siamu is the Hebrew שׁלֵה I will not decide. case Professor Delitzsch is certainly right in saying that samu is " probably grey, and perhaps brown." It is, in fact, like γλαυκός, "olive-coloured," and would thus be appropriately applied to denote the colour of the skin of the so-called Semitic populations in Western Asia.

Japhet answers almost exactly to the Assyrian *ippatu*, the feminine of *ipnu*, "white." Now in the bilingual hymns and elsewhere the Sumerians of Southern Babylonia are called sometimes "black heads," sometimes "black faces," and this "black race" seems to be meant by the word adamatu, which is given as the Semitic equivalent of the Accadian adama. The latter word was expressed by two ideographs which literally denoted "black blood." At all events adamatu would be a close parallel to *ippatu*, the feminine being employed, as is usual in Semitic languages, to represent an abstract noun.

Yours truly,

A. H. SAYCE.

British Museum,

May 8th, 1883.

DEAR SIR,

A few weeks ago there arrived from Aden some cases containing Himyaritic inscriptions. They were presented to the British Museum by Major W. Hunter. I beg to enclose a description of these antiquities, together with copies of the inscriptions upon them.

No. 1. An alabaster bowl; the shape of an irregular square with rounded corners. Its greatest diameter is 12 inches, and its lesser 10\frac{3}{4}. Its outer depth is 4\frac{5}{8} inches, and its inner depth at the middle is 4 inches, gradually decreasing until it becomes 3 inches at the sides. The outer sides are roughly hewn, and the letter \begin{align\*}{1}\] is inscribed on the bottom of the bowl. Two figures, rudely cut, stand at the end of the inscription, which runs thus:—

### ५₩₦♦∑|♦ᡔ╁१|₩५11ሐ१1|**०**∑╁

No. 2. Part of a stone tablet,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, 10 wide, and 3 thick. The letters are  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches long. It bears the following inscription, written boustrophedon:—

# 

No. 3. Part of a stone tablet, 23 inches long, 13 wide, and

2½ thick. The letters are 2 inches long. It bears the following inscription, written boustrophedon:—



No. 4. Part of a tablet of dark stone, 17 inches long,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  wide,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  thick, with letters in relief,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches long.

## 総令}|X1hのA 窓PらП|ちは別り|の5窓 窓の(X7円|X3の窓

No. 5. Soft stone tablet, which arrived in three fragments. It is now joined, and is 15\frac{3}{4} inches long, 9\frac{3}{4} wide, 3\frac{3}{4} thick. The inscription is in relief, but nearly rubbed off, parts of it being quite illegible. What is left I transcribe as follows:—



The following copies are made from inscriptions which arrived after the British Museum publication of Himyaritic Inscriptions was issued:—

No. 1. Fragment of a stone slab, 12\frac{3}{4} inches long, 9 wide, and 3\frac{3}{4} thick, inscribed thus, with letters 1\frac{4}{5} inch long:—

終የҰ|५蒸|1h@| |१०||१५८% |१०||१८% |१०||१८% On the right of the inscription are engraved two trees. See Transactions, Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. IV, p. 200, No. 18.

No. 2. Fragment of a stone slab, 11 inches long, 9 wide, and 3\frac{3}{4} thick. It is inscribed thus, boustrophedon, the letters being 1\frac{3}{4} inch long:—



No. 3. Stone fragment,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  wide,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  thick. It is inscribed thus, with letters  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long:—

## 窓窓Y1Ψ@)品15∏o≯17窓

No. 4. Stone tablet, with cornice and pattern composed of grapes and leaves,  $15\frac{3}{8}$  inches long,  $9\frac{3}{4}$  wide,  $3\frac{3}{8}$  thick. It is inscribed thus, with letters  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch long:—

# 

No. 5. Fragment of an alabaster tablet, diamond-shaped, 10 inches long, 10 wide, and 2 thick. It is inscribed thus, with letters 2 inches long, boustrophedon:—



I am, Dear SIR, Yours truly,

ERNEST A. BUDGE.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq.

The following, in continuation of the communication published in the *Proceedings*, 6th March, has been received from Dr. Birch:—

### OSTRAKA OF HADRIAN, THE ANTONINES, AND SUCCESSORS.

The following will complete the dated ostraka in the British Museum, the results of recent acquisitions. They show the numerous taxes imposed on the Egyptians, all of which were imposed on the ratepayers, consisting of: 1. The poll-tax; 2. The workman's licence; 3. The conservancy of the river; 4. The indirect-tax; 5. The surveyance-tax; 6. The registration; 7. The Pretor's barge-tax; 8. A cattle-tax. The taxes themselves were paid to the  $\pi \rho d\kappa \tau \omega \rho$ , who appears, from the researches of M. Révillout, to have been a kind of beadle. The taxes themselves were often farmed out to contractors, and collected by them or the beadles or surveyors, and the receipt or register was made by the *praktor* or beadle rarely with his own signature.

### OSTRAKA FROM TRAJAN TO SEVERUS.

The tiles are accompanied throughout by ciphers and sigla for the monetary values; the calculations throughout being Greek, although the taxes must have been paid either in the local currency of Egypt, or else in Roman money. The pieces mentioned are the drachma, which, at the time of the Roman Empire, was used instead of the denarius; and to this piece the word silver is sometimes added, or else the word silver or money alone used, with drachmas omitted, to express the same. No other gold or silver coin is mentioned. The lesser values, which cannot have been silver, but copper, were the obol and the triobol. The Egyptian drachma was a piece of potin equal in weight to the old tetra-drachm, or four denarii, but reckoning only as one. (Lénormant, "La Monnaie," Tom. I, p. 204 and following.) But what were the obols and triobols? It will be seen that the triobol was an actual piece in circulation, according to the tiles. According to the Greek notation, 6 obols went to the drachma, and the triobol must have been a large sized bronze coin.

In the cursive Greek there is no distinction of letters, and capitals are not used. The word for year has, however, the cipher L, for  $\ell_{708}$ , written in large size.

There are one or two corrections to make to my former paper. The  $\Delta \iota \omega \gamma \nu$  commencing the ostraka of Caligula appears to me to be the commencement of a proper name.

All the tiles, except otherwise mentioned, are in the British Museum. They are about 2 inches to 3 inches wide, and 1 to 2 inches high, and from Elephantine, and were collected by the Rev. Greville J. Chester in the course of the last few years.

Διεγραψ Παπυρις Παπυριος τ λαογραφ ΑΙ L Τραιανου Καισαρος του κυριου αρ<sup>γ</sup> ιζ Ερμογενης πρα εγραψα. 5790 δ.

"Papyris, son of Papyris, for the poll-tax of the 11th year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, silver drachmas 17. I Hermogenes, the collector, have written it."

This was omitted in the former list, but is of the 1st or 11th year of Trajan. The other contributor to the capitation-tax of the 1st and 10th year of Trajan was Harpaesis.

Τριαδελφος πρα . . .
τωρ διεγραψεν Ερπαησις Πε
τορζμηθου υπερ μερισμου
ποταμουφυλακιδες LI . . .
ανου Καισαρος του κυριου . . . .
β ΑL Αδριανου Και
σαρος του κυριου
θωθ κᾶ

5791 k.

[1883.

"Triadelphos collector, Harpaesis, son of Petorzmethes, has acquitted for the assessment of the guardships of the river the 1(9th) year of Trajan Cæsar, the lord, the 1st year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, 21st Thoth."

As he paid in the 1st year of Hadrian, and was evidently in arrear, the part to be restored is the 19th year of Trajan. The date is A.D. 117.

Τριαδελφος πρα<sup>κ</sup> διεγραψ Αρπαησις Φενοφεος Τανυθ φορος Αμμ(ων)ατης Θεουμενο Β επιτηριτικου (?) δρα<sup>χ</sup> οκτω τριοδολον ή η β L Αδριανου Καισαρος του κυριου Μεσορη ε δια Ποινου Τρεαδελ φον παρ

5790 c.

"Triadelphos collector. Harpaesis, son of Phenopheus, Tanuthphoros, Ammonates, has paid on account of the surveying-tax 8 drachmas and a triobol 8, the 3rd year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, the 5th Mesore, by Poinos Triadelphos...."

The  $\beta$  refers to the 3rd year of Hadrian, as it can hardly be the cipher of the triobol.  $\Pi \alpha \rho$  is obscure. A.D. 119.

Ουαλεριων και οι λοΐ μισθ ιερας πυλης Σοηνης δὶ Σεραι γρ διεγρα $\widehat{\Psi}$  Παχνουδις Φανωφεως μ $\widehat{\rho}$  Ταχομτδηκις . . . . . τριτου ετους Αδριανου του κυριου κατα μερ $^{\circ}$  δρα $^{\chi}$  δεκα επτα δεσ $\mu^{\circ}$  14  $^{\varsigma}$  ιζ  $^{\varsigma}$  L  $^{\zeta}$  Αδριανου του κυριου  $^{\chi}$ 

5691 *g*.

"Valerion and the other farmers of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene, by Serapion writing. Pachnoubis, son of Phanopheus, and his mother Tachomtbekis.... for the 3rd year of Adrian, the lord, for the assessment, 17 drachmas, the disme, the 4th year of Hadrian, the lord, the 17th Mecheir."

The abbreviation  $\delta_{\epsilon\sigma}\mu^{o}$  is obscure, the drachmas being usually followed by obols. A.B. 120.

12642, Brit. Mus.

"Valerion and the remaining (farmer of taxes of the sacred) gate of Syene, by . . . . Calasiris, son . . . . snious, for the poll-tax of the 4th year of Hadrian, the lord, 17 drachmas, the 5th year of Hadrian, the lord, the 18th Choiak."

The second  $\delta \epsilon \kappa \hat{a}$  seem to refer to the drachmas. A.D. 120.

"Valerion and the other (farmers of taxes of the sacred) gate of Syene, by . . . . . . Pachnoubis, son of Phanopheus and his mother Tachomtbekis, has acquitted for the 4th year of Hadrian, the lord, 8 drachmas, the 15th Payni, of the assessment . . . . 19 (drachmas) . . . . Thoth the 17th (17)."

An ostrakon with some anonymous farmers, probably Valerion and company, of the 4th year of Hadrian, is published by Franzius, No. 4867. The date is A.D. 119.

```
.... γρ<sup>ε</sup> Πετορζμηθης Πετορ
.... ηυς Παχνουμις υι μερισ
....ι<sup>α</sup> ΕL Αδριανου του κυριου
.... πρ εγρ χοι ι̂ε 5788 c.
```

"Has paid Petorzmethes, son of Petorzmethes.... Pachnoumis, for the assessment of the conservancy of the river of the 5th year of Hadrian, the lord ..... the collector, have written it, the 15th Choiak."

The amount is wanting, as also the name of the collector and the tax. A.D. 120.

Σαναμους πρα<sup>κ</sup> διεγραψ Παχνουδις Φενωφεως μ<sup>ε</sup> Ταχομτδη<sup>κ</sup> υ) μερι ποταμοφυ<sup>λ</sup> ΕL Αδριανου κυριου υ) 4β οδολ τρεις Σαν πρ εγραψ Φαρ<sup>μ</sup> ε

5790 **p**.

"Sanamous (or Sammous), the collector, Pachnoubis, son of Phenopheus, and of his mother, Tachomtbekis, on account of the assessment of the conservancy of the river the 5th year of Hadrian, the lord.... 2 drachmas 3 obols. I Sanamous, the collector, have written it the 5th Pharmouthi."

The doubt is, if the name of the collector is not Sammous, which is otherwise found. The date is A.D. 121.

Φλαοιος Ευτυ<sup>χ</sup> απομι? Φλαιου Παρσα? μισ<sup>8</sup> ιερας πυ<sup>λ</sup> Σοηνης δια Σεραπιωνος  $\beta$ οηθ διεγρα $\widehat{\psi}$  Αρπαησις Φενωφιος  $\widehat{\mu}$  Ταχομτδηκιος λαογ του ογδωου ετους Αδριανου Καισαρος του κυριου κατ μερ δρα<sup>χ</sup> δεκα επται  $\varphi$   $\widehat{\iota}$   $\widehat{\iota}$ 

5790 *l*.

"Flavius Eutuches, sub-farmer of taxes of Flavius Parsamathes, the contractor of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene, by aid of Serapion. Harpaesis, son of Phenophis, and his mother Tachomtbekis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 8th year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, according to the assessment, 17 drachmas, the 9th year of Hadrian, the lord, the 2nd of Choiak."

There is a new word here, the  $d\pi o \mu \omega \sigma \theta \omega \tau \eta s$ , the sub-contractor. What the word refers to before the date is obscure, unless to some payment. The date is A.D. 124.

επιτηρητ ιερας πυλης Σοηνης δι Σεραπιωνος διεγραψ.. (Πα)χνουδις Φενωδεος μη Τακομτδηκις λαο<sup>γ</sup> του εδδομου ετους Αδριανου Καισαρος του κυριου δρα<sup>χ</sup> τεσσαρας ή δ
Παχ ίζ δ αλλας δρα<sup>χ</sup> δεκα τρεις δεκα ιή εγ ιήιή ιε

5791 a.

"Inspector of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene, by Serapion. Pachnoubis, son of Phenopheus, and his mother Tachomtbekis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 7th year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, four drachmas 4 the 17th of the month Pachon; he owes 13 other drachmas, 10, 13, 15."

The date is A.D. 123.

5791 #.

162

"..... 25th..... Mesore, 9th of Hadrian ..... Thoth 25..... 10."

Too obscure to be read. Dated A.D. 125.

αχομ Πετε... προκ διεγραψε Παχνουδις Φενω φεως μης Παχομτδηκι ς μερισμου ποταμοφυ θερι ή οδολους δεκα L θ Αδριωνου Καισαρος του κυριου Μεχειρ

Ŕη

5790 u.

"Pachom.... son of Pete.... the collector. Pachoubis, son of Phenopheus, and of (his) mother Pachomtbekis, on account of the assessment of the conservancy of the river, 9... three-obols (triobols) 10.... the 9th year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, the 28th Mecheir."

It is doubtful if the name of the collector is not Pachompetenouphis. It is important to fix the amount of the rate of the conservancy-tax. It may be 9 drachmas three obol, or a triobolon, but the word  $\delta \epsilon \kappa \hat{a}$  (10) after obols seems to point to 10 drachmas. A.D. 125.

> Παχομπετε . . . φεως πρα<sup>κ</sup> διεγρ Αρπαησις Φανωφεως μρ Ταχομτδη . . ως μερισμου ποταμοφυλ θριηοδο λους δεκα Lθ Αδριανου του κυριου Φαμενωθ 5

5791 L.

"Pachompete... pheos, collector, Harpaesis, son of Phanopheus, and of his mother Tachomtbekis, has acquitted for the assessment of the conservancy of the river, 10 triobols, the 9th year of Hadrian, the lord, the 6th of Phamenoth."

The same as the preceding, but here, after three obols, abnormally written, the word is 10, three obols more. A.D. 125.

... Σερα διε<sup>γ</sup> Αρπαησις
Φενωφεως ῦ χειροναξιου
δεκατου L Αδριανου Καισαρος
του κυριου δρα<sup>χ</sup> οκτω
ι/η IAL Αδριανου του κυριου
Παχων δ
Φαμενωθ ς τεσσαρες

48

5790 p.

"By Serapion. Harpaesis, son of Phenopheus, has paid for the workman's-licence for the 10th year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, the 4th of Pachon, eight drachmas 8. The 11th year of Hadrian, the lord, the 4th Pachons, he owes four (other drachmas)."

The receipt was given the 11th of Hadrian, A.D. 127. Serapion was the clerk of Fl. Eutyches and Longinus Primus.

Φλαυιος Ευτυχης μισθ ιερας πυλ Συηνης και Λονγινος Πριμος και οι συν αυ<sup>τ</sup> επιτήρητ δια Σεραπιωνος βοηθ διεγραψ Παχνουδις Φενωφιως  $\hat{\mu}$  Ταχομτβη<sup>κ</sup>  $\hat{v}$  λοί του ενδεκατου ετους Αδριανου Καισαρος του κυριου αρ $\hat{\gamma}$  δρα<sup>χ</sup> οκτω  $\eta$  Παυνι ε δ αλλας δρα<sup>χ</sup> εν νεα παυνι  $\eta$   $\theta$  ιε ιζ

5790 i.

"Flavius Eutuches, farmer of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene, and Longinus Primus and those with them, by aid of Serapion. Has paid Pachnoubis, son of Phenopheus, and his mother Tachomtbekis, for the rest of the 11th year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, 8 drachmas of silver 8, the 5th of Payni, 7, he owes the other 9 drachmas 9. 15, 17."

A.D. 127. It is obscure how much Pachnoubis paid if not 8 drachmas, and then he owed 9, but the tax is not mentioned, unless  $\hat{v}$   $\lambda_{00}$  is written instead of  $\hat{v}$   $\lambda_{20}$ ?.

Αμμωνίος και οι συν αυτω τελ πεντ λι $^{S}$  Σοην δια Αμμωνίδο Τραυμαν Ειρηνίω Τυραν νου χ $^{\rho}$  Απεχ $^{o}$  παρα σου τω γινομε $^{v}$  τελ ον εξη $^{\gamma}$  κουφον λα $^{\gamma}$   $\hat{\beta}$  LIΓ Αδριανο Καισαρος του κυριου Μεσορη  $\hat{\alpha}$ 

Ostrakon belonging to the late Mr. C. Appleton.

"Ammonius and those with him, the tax-gatherers of Syene, by Ammonides, son of Traumatius, to Eirenios, son of Tyrannus, greeting. I hold from you for the present tribute which I demanded the second small remittance (or cask), the 13th year of Hadrian Cæsar, the lord, the 18th Mesore."

I cannot verify this tile, but the second line is obscure, for the word  $\tau \in \lambda \omega \nu \eta \tau$  I have not found elsewhere as followed by 5.  $\lambda \omega \gamma$  may be the contraction for  $\lambda o \gamma$ ;  $\lambda t^{\epsilon}$  is obscure. A.D. 129.

Σαμμους πρα<sup>κ</sup> διεγρ Αρπαησις Φενωφεως δ μερισμου ποταμοφυ<sup>λ</sup> ΚΙ Αδριανου του κυριου αρ<sup>γ</sup> ή δυο Μεχειρ ŷ Σαμ̂ πρα<sup>κ</sup> εγρα

5790 s.

"Sammous collector, Harpaesis, son of Phanopheus, on account of the assessment of the conservancy of the river, the 20th year of Hadrian, the lord, of silver 2 drachmas, the 3rd Mecheir. I Sammous (Sanamous), the collector, have written it."

The conservancy-rate here was 2 drachmas, which with 17 for the workman's-tax and 17 for the poll-tax, makes 36 drachmas; the form written expresses that the collector had registered it.

Ουαλε...
αυτω.....
δι νο
Παχνου.....
ζμηθις.....
δεκα επ.....
LΓ Αντω.....
του κυριου
Τile at British Museum.

"Valerion (and those with) him by Serapion. Has paid Pachnoubis, son of Petorzmethis (drachmas) 17 .... the 3rd year of Antoninus (Cæsar), the lord."

Too imperfect to make out more than the 17 drachmas for the poll-tax. A.D. 139-140. The name of the tax-gatherer has been read Valerius Merion by Young and Franzius.

```
.... ιερας πυλ Σοη
... ν συν αῦ επιτηρ...
.. εγρ<sup>α</sup> Παν
..... αρ.. δρα<sup>χ</sup> δεκα
...ΔL Αντω....
```

Tile at British Museum.

".... of the sacred gate of Syene.... those with him surveyors of taxes.... Has paid Panubtis... of silver 10 + drachmas.... the 4th year of Antoninus."

A tile of the 4th year of Antoninus, with a rate for the Pretorian barge, has been published by Fröhner, *Rev. Arch.*, N.S., XI, p. 433; and another with the tax-collectors Heracleides and Isidoros, Young, 53, 6, and Franzius, 4875. The date is A.D. 140-141.

"Valerios . . . . Petorzmethes . . . . of Ammonius . . . . the 4th year of Antoninus, 16th Payni."

Same date as preceding.

Διονυσιος πρ ιερας πυλ...
... δια Παχομψακις βουθ
.... Πανυδτις Πετορζμθης Πετορ
... ζμηθης μητ Θιν Πετορζμηθη
... ρ ΘL Αντωνείνου
... Καισαρος του κυριου δρα<sup>χ</sup>
... κοσι οβολ δυω ιή Επειφ
κᾶ

5790 t.

"Dionysios, collector of the sacred gate (of Syene), by aid of Pachompsachis. Petorzmethes, son of Petorzmethes, and his mother Thinpeleia (has paid for the assessment), of the 9th year of Antoninus, the lord, 20 drachmas, 2 obols, the 21st Epiphi." A.D. 146.

Τιδεριος Ιουλιος Λονγινος και Ουαλεριος Σωκρατης και οι συν αυτοις επιτη<sup>τ</sup> ιερας πυ<sup>λ</sup> Συ<sup>η</sup> εσακολου<sup>6</sup> Ηρακλειδου και Ισιδωρου μισ<sup>6</sup> διε Πανυ<sup>6</sup> μη<sup>τ</sup> Θινπελαυτος χειρ<sup>0</sup> αργ δρα<sup>χ</sup> δεκα δυω ι<sup>1</sup>/<sub>1</sub> ι ε L Z Αντωνεινου Καισαρος του κυριου Αθυρ ιθ ο α δει χειρ<sup>0</sup> δρα<sup>χ</sup> οκτω οδ δυω ι<sup>1</sup>/<sub>1</sub>

5790 f.

"Tiberius Julius Longinus and Valerius Socrates and the others, with their surveyors of taxes, of the sacred gate of Syene, successors of Heracleides and Isidorus, farmers of taxes, Panubtis, son of his motner Thinpelaus, has acquitted for the workman's-tax 12 drachmas, of the 7th year of Antoninus Cæsar, the lord, the 19th of Athyr. He owes the other 8 drachmas, 2 obols, of the workman's-tax, 8."

A most important tile for showing the relations of the farmer and surveyor of taxes. A.D. 144. Others of this year, Young, 54, 11; Franzius, 4870.

ΙΕ L Αντωνεινου Καισαρος
 του κυριου Φαρμουθι ι̂ε διεγρ
 Πετορζμη<sup>9</sup>
 Πατχναυτιος μητρ Συνπελ<sup>6</sup> και
 Πανουμι(θ) αδελφου και Πεταμμωνιο(ς)
 αλλος + δ λαογραφιας ΙΕ L εκαστ
 (δ)ραχμας εικοσι κ ρ δια Αμμωνιου

5851 a.

"The 15th year of Antoninus Cæsar, the lord, the 15th Pharmuthi Petorzmethes, son of Pachnautis, and of his mother Sunpeleia, and Panoumithes his brother, and Petammonios, the other, for the poll-tax of 15th year each 20 drachmas 20. By Ammonius."

It is of A.D. 154.

Αμμωνίος και Σω<sup>κ</sup> οι ξ πρα<sup>κ</sup> πυλ Ελεφ δια Παχομπετενεφω<sup>χ</sup> δουηθ διεγρ Μενοφιλος Μοχωιρβαίτου μη....ισις και Αρπαησις υιος υ μερις αλλων και εκαστου ανδρος L ΚΓ Αντωνίνου Καισαρος του κυριου Παυνι η Αμμωνίος εγρ<sup>α</sup>

Rev. Arch., N.S., XIX, p. 226.

"Ammonius and Socrates, the two tax-gatherers of the gate of Elephantine, by Pachomtpetenephochus, assisting Menophilus, son of Mochiorbaites, and his mother.. isis.. and Arpaesis, the son, for the assessment of the other, and of each man, the 23rd year of Antoninus Cæsar, the lord. I Ammonius have written it."

This does not give either the tax or the date. It of A.D. 163.

Αμμωνιος και Σω<sup>κ</sup> οι δ πρα αργ Ελεφ δια Παχομπετενεφω<sup>τ</sup> βοηθου διεγρα Παναπωθις Αμμονα<sup>τ</sup> μη<sup>τ</sup> Θιννησις υ μερις ον κα<sup>1</sup>/ ταγ LKΓ Αντωνεινου Καισαρος του κυριου . . . νι ιγ Αμμωνιος εγραψα

12070, British Museum.

"Ammonius and Socrates, two collectors of money of Elephantine, by Pachompetenephos, assisting Panapothis, son of Ammonates, and his mother Thinnesis, on account of the assessment.. 21.. the 23rd year of Antoninus Cæsar, the lord, the 13th Payni. I Ammonius have written it."

The word after assessment ought to be the amount. It is of A.D. 154.

Tile, British Museum.

"Ammonius and Socrates, the collectors of the silver of Elephantine, Calasiris (son of Petorzmethes), and his mother Zor.....

Petor.... of public value... 4 drachmas, 4 triobols..... (the ... year) of Antoninus (Cæsar, the lord)."

It is of uncertain date, the year and month not being mentioned.

```
.... μοις επι<sup>τ</sup> ιερ πυ Σοηνης
.... ιωνος Μαχαιροφορου
Απαχνουθ υθ Αμμωνιου
.. ων προβατων εξ προ<sup>β</sup> ς
... L Αντωνείνου Καισαρος του κυριου
. ι η θ ς
.... ου Καισαρος του κυριου
φαμενωθ γ 12460, British Museum
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"... mois, surveyor of taxes of the sacred gate of Syene, by Serapion Macharophorus, Apachnoub, for the ... of Ammonius ... of the sheep, 6 drachmas, the 6th year of Antoninus Cæsar, the lord, 10, 9 dr."

".... of Antoninus Cæsar, the lord, Phamenoth."

Apparently of Antoninus, but date uncertain. This is a receipt for customs.

"..... the 3rd year of Severus Pertinax. I Julius Fronton have taken a note." (?) (or been noted).

The greater part of this tile is deficient, and it is uncertain if it is a receipt for taxes. The final word appears in place of the usual  $\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha$ , 'have written' or 'registered.' A.D. 244-245.

No tile of later date under the rule of the Roman emperors occurs in the British Museum.

## PROCEEDINGS.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse, in continuation of his researches in the Mœris Basin:—

Although the results of my explorations in the Fayoum and the desert to the west of the Nile, from the latitude of the Pyramids to the Herms and Hagar Musqiqeh in the Wadi Reian, published in the "Proceedings" in June, 1882, were directly opposed to the statements of fact and conclusions of the entire scientific world, their accuracy has not been disputed.

Anxious, however, to verify them beyond any possibility of doubt. and to determine whether the basin of the Wadi Reian might be used as a waste-weir for the Nile without danger to the Favoum, and whether the cultivated area of that flourishing province might be once more extended to the old limits of the Arsinoïte nome, I returned to the Oasr Oerun with a European engineer, and on the 12th of March, 1883, ran a line of levels to the Birket el-Oerun. The present lake is believed to have risen eight metres in the last eleven years, and is rapidly destroying a large extent of cultivated land. It is however still over thirty metres below the Mediterranean. and 44.94 mètres below the base of Oasr Oerun. This temple of the Roman period is on the same terrace as Nezleh. The desert sinks slightly to the west, but it rises to the south, as much perhaps as seven mètres, completely separating the two deep basins at nearly the level of the Nile. I also went again to the ridge which separates Gharaq from Reian, followed the Bahr Yussuf from Behnesa to the north, and on the 3rd and 4th of April, accompanied by the Chief Engineer of the Province and a large party, examined the desert to the south-west of Qasr Qerun, and the dyke which the engineers declared to have been used as a canal. The black earth in that part of the desert, like the deposit over a mètre deep in the Wadi Reian to the south-east, is conclusive proof that the Nile water was conveyed there in large quantities, and for a long period of time.

It is unnecessary, when it is proposed to flood the Schotts near Biskra with salt-water, to dwell on the advantages which would arise from filling this 'Schott' with the fertilizing waters of the Nile. It does not contain a single inhabitant or a feddan of cultivated land. No one could be harmed by it. The testimony of antiquity demonstrates its feasibility and value. It must be remembered that although the Meridis Lacus of the Ptolemaic maps is rightly distinguished

from the relatively shallow 'Paludes,' basins, or marshes of Mareotis and Sirbonis, it was probably less than half the area of the great sea which once filled the three basins, the Fayoum, the Gharaq, and the These explorations render it certain that if the dyke of el-Lahun vielded to the heavy pressure of high Nile, and the stream continued for some years to enter without check, the water would pass into the deep valley to the south; but my recent survey also proves that that basin may be filled to a great depth without endangering the Fayoum. It seems probable, therefore, that down to the fifth century B.C. the entire area was flooded, except the plateau occupied by the Labyrinth and the adjacent towns, and that it was gradually redeemed, and the fertile fields of the later Arsinoïte nome substituted for the lake in the northern and eastern parts. the water of the Favour basin had diminished below the level of the neck at Oasr Oerun, canals were constructed, and fortifications were erected to protect the part thus added and the road which entered the desert at this point. While it would be impossible to give an exact estimate of cultivable land or the money required to redeem it until the extent and character of the restoration has been determined, it is clear that water may be diverted into the desert thirty miles west of its present limits, and cultivation extended over hundreds of thousands of feddans still containing roots of vines, and extensive remains of towns whose former importance is attested by such names as the Castle of Splendour.

If it be granted that the successive states of Lake Mœris have thus been approximately determined, the Labyrinth, according to ancient historians, is next in rank and adjacent in position. The general attention which has been directed to Egypt by the political events of the year which has intervened, the concentration of civil and military engineering ability, the creation of a special department of canals, and the appointment of an experienced Indian official as its chief, with the personal assurances I received, will rescue the Wadi Reian from the oblivion into which it has fallen, insert it in the blank desert of Jacotin and the vague shadows of Linant, and restore it to Ptolemaic prominence on the future maps of Middle Egypt. The appeal which it makes to imperial statesmanship, the imminent danger of delay and petty cupidity, will not remain unheeded.

Adjacent to the great 'sea,' and second only to Meri as a marvel of human workmanship, the Labyrinth, although as huge in structure

as a pyramid, with countless passages, each as faultless as the single entrance into 'the Lights,' and equally inexplicable to Greek and Roman traveller, is unknown.

The latest opinion of the Labyrinth is thus expressed by Professor George Perrot and M. Chipiez in their recent work on Egyptian Art:—"We are by no means sure that the ruins in the Fayoum are those of the Labyrinth. These ruins, which were first discovered and described by Jomard and Caristie, and after, wards in greater detail by Lepsius, are composed of wretched blocks of dry grey mud. The plan and description of the building discovered by Lepsius hardly corresponds with the account of Straboand with what we learn from other antique sources as to the magnificence of the Labyrinth, and the vast bulk of the materials of which it was composed." (Hist. of Art in Anc. Egypt, p. 25, English ed.)

Fully concurring in this view, at which I had also arrived, it is nevertheless possible that the Stonehenge of Egypt, which could never perish, may yet be found.

If M. Mariette knew where it lay beneath the fields of the Fayoum, would he have lived without entering the 'Serapeum' of Mœris, or died without bequeathing the secret with his other official papers to a trusted associate and successor? Although a minute examination of a very considerable area in 1882, as well as in March and April, 1883, have not been rewarded with success, the search should be prosecuted with diligence. The highest archæological prize remains to be won by critical acumen, profound and varied erudition, unstinted physical labour, and "the favour of the gods." No one can claim to have found it until the lintels of Parian marble have been traversed, corridors lined with bas-reliefs, exquisite as in the tombs of the kings, have resounded to the clang of the stone doors, and statues of the earliest period, such as Dædalus made for Menas (Strabo, X, 10, 5), and realistic as the Shekh el-Beled, are added to the overflowing treasures of Boulaq. The physical conditions of that part of Egypt, the strata of horizontal limestone, the vast blocks which line the causeway near Kom Uashim, and strew the surface of the island in the lake, or beneath which one creeps at the base of the Haram es-Schaneh closely conform to the requirements of the 'stone city.' "Deinde Arsinoe et jam dicta Memphis: inter quam et Arsinoïten nomon in Libyeo turres quæ pyramides vocantur" (El-Haram elkaddab, 'the false pyramid,' Meri-Tum), "Labyrinthus in Moeridis lacu, NULLO ADDITO LIGNO ædificatus, et oppidum Crialon." Inconsiderate and incomplete excavations may do irreparable damage. M. Maspero had informed me of his intention to proceed to the Fayoum with an entire staff in October. I therefore refrained from disturbing the ground and effacing precious marks which might serve as clues, but I desire not to lose this opportunity of acknowledging the generous courtesy with which he not only gave me full permission to make a thorough examination, but wished me a success which in turn I trust may be the due reward of his own labours.

In inquiring into the site, origin, use, form, history, and traditions of the Labyrinth, it seemed a plausible conjecture that the Kretan myth was, in fact, Egyptian. If the suggestion be correct, its incidents and names may be of service in the actual discovery of a monument which was regarded as, next to Lake Moeris, the most stupendous work conceived and executed by man. In spite of the labyrinth sign on the coins of Gnossus (seventh century), the whole story of the labyrinth in Krete has been generally discredited (Hoeck, The Phœnician character of its civilization lends itself readily to the conversion of an Egyptian fact into a local fable. especially if associated with architectural features strange and even repugnant to the straight lines of Doric simplicity. Cadmus, D., kedem, "the East," whether merchants "in search of Europa," extending commercial relations towards عرب, Gharb, "the West;" or "shepherd kings" expelled by such a revolution as that alleged to have taken place under the first king of the XVIIIth dynasty; or a nobility forced to emigrate, as seems probable, by the changed political status resulting from the redemption of the Delta, protected from overflow by Lake Meeris and traversed by the canals "dug by Sesostris," carried to the Greek island ideas which tradition always credited with an Egyptian origin. Dædalus was said to have built his structure after the model of that Egyptian edifice which Pliny described as "portentosissimum humani impendii opus."

In the Egyptian Labyrinth, as late as the middle of the first century of our era, stood, according to Polyhistor, a colossal statue with the head of a bull and the body of a man. "Apion, cognominatus Plistonices, paulo ante scriptum reliquit esse etiam nunc in labyrintho Ægypti colosseum Serapin e smaragdo novem cubitorum." This Serapis, corresponding fairly enough in height to the large figures in the Museum of Boulaq, and termed 'emerald,' perhaps

because carved in stone and covered with green glaze, Μινώταυρον, ώσπερ Εὐριπίδη, φησί.

Σύμμικτον είδος κάποφώλιον βρέφος γεγονέναι, καὶ

Ταύρου μεμίχθαι καὶ βροτοῦ διπλη φυσει. (Plut., Thes., XV). So the great Serapis in the Fayoum may have become the monster of the Kretan fable.

The Minotaur can scarcely be considered masculine except in name. The creature devours, in the Attic tale, youths as well as maidens. Isis-Hathor, "the statue of the goddess which has the form of a woman, but with horns like a cow" (Herod., II, 41; 2, 73, R., 1875),

corresponds equally well in form. Following this idea, Men-Hathor as a derivation for the word Μινώταυρος arouses suspicion, and challenges scrutiny only by the extreme closeness of the resemblance. "The tendency of the Greeks to claim an indigenous origin for the deities they borrowed from strangers, and to substitute physical for abstract beings" (Sir G. Wilkinson), induced or permitted them to change the sex of Forces and Objects to suit the apparent gender of the foreign word.

In this way the bearded sphinx became the full-bosomed figure of Hadrian's villa, and the Andro-lion the woman defeated by Œdipus. The conversion of the 'cow-headed' wife of Osiris into a neutral monster is not a serious difficulty.

Men-Hathor does not occur in any known inscription. The sign however, is so very common as a substantive and in compound terms, that it is not only probable that such an expression would exist, but it is even difficult to fix upon the precise meaning which would attach to it. is not an ideograph taken from a game of draughts, but, like other rectangles, directly connected with enclosures, structures, pools, and dams. Thus  $\xrightarrow{m}$  ×  $\overline{\sigma}$  men, is a " men, μένω, Arab. [σ] feststellen, u.s.w." liquid measure. (Brugsch, H.D.W., 636, vid. Pierret. Dict., p. 207), is also found in on reside, Kopt. 220πH, mansio, μονή. Erscheint am häufigsten in Zusammensetzungen. Whether 'district,' 'town,' or even 'statue' (p. 652), it is directly connected with Hathor in the following passage from the papyrus of Boulaq, which describes Lake Mœris: " MoNMoN ou MeNMeN . . . . cette localité au

Nord du Canal (ou du lac, c.-à.-d., du lac de Mœris).... Ta-She est son nom. La contrée Monmon se nourrit de l'eau du canal de ce dieu." (Brugsch, D. Geog., p. 257.) In this nome, where the Labyrinth was unquestionably situated, Brugsch adds: "Je ne veux pas oublier que les texte hiéroglyphiques connaissent une Hathor LOCALE NOMMÉE

Strabo says:—" εἰ δ', ῶς Φασιν, ὁ Μέμνων ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰσμάνδης (ʔ Isis) λέγεται, καὶ ὁ λαβύρινθος Μεμνόνιον ἄν εἴη καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, οὖπερ καὶ τὰ ἐν ᾿Αβύδῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Θήβαις καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῦ λέγεται τινα Μεμνόνια."

The Minotaur therefore may with some probability fall within the category of names "which came into Greece from Egypt." (Her., II, § 50.) Dangerous as philological speculations become when pressed too far, they may be used as clues where they are worthless as argument. In the search, then, for the actual Labyrinth which has led me so often to the desert edge of the Fayoum, and induced me to scan with such anxious eye, foot by foot, the canal on which Strabo sailed beneath its massive walls, it is legitimate to hazard conjectures which may furnish points of vantage from which sound and enduring reasons may present themselves to Adjacent to Medinet-el-Fayoum, on the north-west, are immense mounds, the loftiest of which is known as Kom el-Faras. Faras or Fares, is 'horseman' in Arabic and in Hebrew, فرس, שׁרָבוֹ (2 Sam., i, 6), and the modern Arabic word for 'mare.' The eminent Arabic scholar Rogers Bey interprets it (see his brochure) as a trace of the Persian invasion of the seventh century A.D. The Egyptians, however, called a horse Hthor (Htar), and the Labyrinth, into which Aristides "descended" A.D. 180, may have been lost to view before the Khalifat of Omar. district, shrine, or statue of Hathor, might readily be translated Kom el-Fares, 'the hill of the mare.' Conceding that this line of inquiry is legitimate, and seeking to recover from the Kretan myth its Egyptian allusions, Theseus and his conflict are also intimated in a vignette and legend of the Boulaq papyrus. "Cette localité, c'est celle qui se nommé  $\Theta e T \Theta e T$  [celle de la défaite], du côté ouest de la contrée de monmon. C'est l'endroit du combat du dieu Horus avec Set à cause des biens (laissés) de son père d'Osiris. Le dieu solaire Rá a battu ses ennemis à lui le 23° jour du 1er mois de l'inondation [jour de l'ouverture de l'écluse du

canal de la ville Héracléopolis, compar. pl. 2]. La contrée appelée appartient donc à la province du Fayoum. Elle est située au nord du lac Mœris." The text continues: "Cette localité sablonneuse au nord du canal (ou du lac, c.-à.-d., du lac de Mœris) c'est l'habitation d'Osiris quand le dieu Set ne lui a pas fait du mal à Héracléopolis Magna [c.-à-d., quand Set n'a pas empêché l'eau de l'inondation d'y arriver par le canal d'Heracl.]." Brugsch, Dict. Geog., p. 258.

The tribute of seven sons and seven daughters may refer to seven months of days and nights during which the water stored in Lake Mœris, adjoining the council halls of the Egyptian Barons, was a tribute levied upon Egypt, and an especial grievance to the inhabitants of the Heracleopolitan nome.

Without extending the parallel, it will be observed that the various names connected with the present Fayoum and the historical Labyrinth can be readily identified. The Gebel Sedment or Isment is the 'lσμάνδη of Strabo (p. 690, 52, Didot); and its variants, Σμάνδη F., 'Ιμάνδη αχ, Μάνδη ως as well as of XVII, 1, 'Ιμάνδη οδ' ὄνομα ὁ ταφείο (p. 689, 28), on which the note by the learned editor, Karl Müller, reads: "Μάινδη Epit., 'Ισμάνδη codd. plurimi habent, p. 690, 52. Quidnam Strabo scripserit, incertum. Epitomes scripturam utroque loco reponi vult Bunsen."

Diodorus says: " Αἰγύπτιοι . . . κατέστησαν ἐγχώριον βασιλέα Μένδην ον τινες Μάρρον προσονομάζουσιν. Οὖτος δὲ πολεμικήν μὲν πρᾶξιν οὐδ΄ ἡντινοῦν ἐπετελέσατο, τάφον δὲ ἀυτῷ κατεσκεύασε τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον λαβύρινθον." LXI, I; and Sec. XCVII, 5.

Pliny gives Petesuchus as its founder, the equivalent of Pta-Sevek, the "mouth of the canal," which led to "Crocodilopolis," where 'Suchus,' that is Sebek or Subek, a crocodile, with the Greek ending -os added, was kept in the temple tank. Tithoes may be Ta-Shet. Lykeas assigned it to Moeris ( mer, cours d'eau. (Br.) Lac. Pierret, Dict., p. 220; cf. Mápioor, supra).

Besides these passing allusions, in which lines of investigation are merely hinted, it may be proper to add that Hebrew tradition distinctly connects the 'corvée' of the Beni-Israel employed at Pithom (Exod. i, 11) with the vast engineering works ascribed to all the Pharaohs, and especially to Amen-em-ha III. The eminent Arab Sheikh who replaced Dr. Spitta, in April, 1882, as librarian of the Khuttubkhaneh, told me that the traditions which ascribe the Fayoum and its canal to the Patriarch Joseph were of the remotest

antiquity, and he gave to them entire credence. When "there arose up the new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph," the children of Israel had multiplied beyond the scanty limits of Goshen, "and the land was filled with them." The LXX say they were employed on the public works (ἐν το̂ις ἔργοις) and that ψκοδύμησαν πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τῷ Φαραψ, τήν τε Πειθώ, καὶ 'Ραμεσσῆ, καὶ 'Ων, ἥ ἐστιν 'Ηλιούπολις."

The Hebrew text has בְּחָכְּבִּוֹת לְפַרְעֹה אֶּת־פָּתוֹם וְאֶּח־רַעַּבְיִּחָם but the addition of "On, which is Heliopolis," makes it probable that they were employed on the great constructions from Gizeh at Bab el-On, to the statues of Isis and Osiris, which stood upon the island in Mœris. The 'urbes tabernaculorum' of the Vulgate were, as the Italian puts it, 'maggazini.' The increase of the population necessitated and permitted fresh basins for the storage of Nile water, and additional granaries, the 'horrea Josephi' of mediæval tradition. The Syriac also has it, "extruebant civitates, horrea Pharaoni, Pithon et Raamsis."

On such a point the Arabic version is entitled to the greatest respect. Saadia ben-Joseph was born in the Fayoum, "l'ancienne Pithôm, dans la haute Égypte, l'an 4652 de l'ère juive de la création (892 de l'ère chrétien); il porte de sa ville natale le surnom 'd'Alfayyoumi,' מוֹכְּלְיוֹרְעֵלִי, ou en hébreu Happithomi, "הַפּּיתוֹרְעַלִי," as Munk states in his "Notice sur Rabbi Saadia, Gaon": Paris, 1838.

Saadia writes— مَنَّازِنَ لِفُرْعُونَ فِي آلْفَدُوِّمَ وَفِي عَدِّنِ شَمْس sadificavereuntque civitates, horrea Pharaoni, in Phaium et Ain-Semes."

Pi-Tum and Ra-Meses are words of description rather than names. Why should not the Israelites have been employed in some portion of the Mœris basin in averting starvation from a redundant population, by extending a lake "whose use was admirable, and the greatness of the work incredible?" (Diod., I, IV.) Chronology plays no part. For "who is he therefore that considers the greatness of this work, that may not justly ask the question, how many ten thousand men were employed, and how many years were spent in finishing it? Considering the benefit and advantage brought to the government" (by this great work), "none ever could sufficiently extol it, according to what the truth of the thing deserved." (Diodorus, by Booth, p. 56.)

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